

JUL 1 1912



THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

JULY, 1912

Why Tariff Boards?

New Methodist Bishops

Ohio's Proposed Constitution

A Crisis in Cuba's Political Affairs

THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS

What the West Expects from Panama

The New Woman of the New East

The British Post Office

A Dramatic Museum

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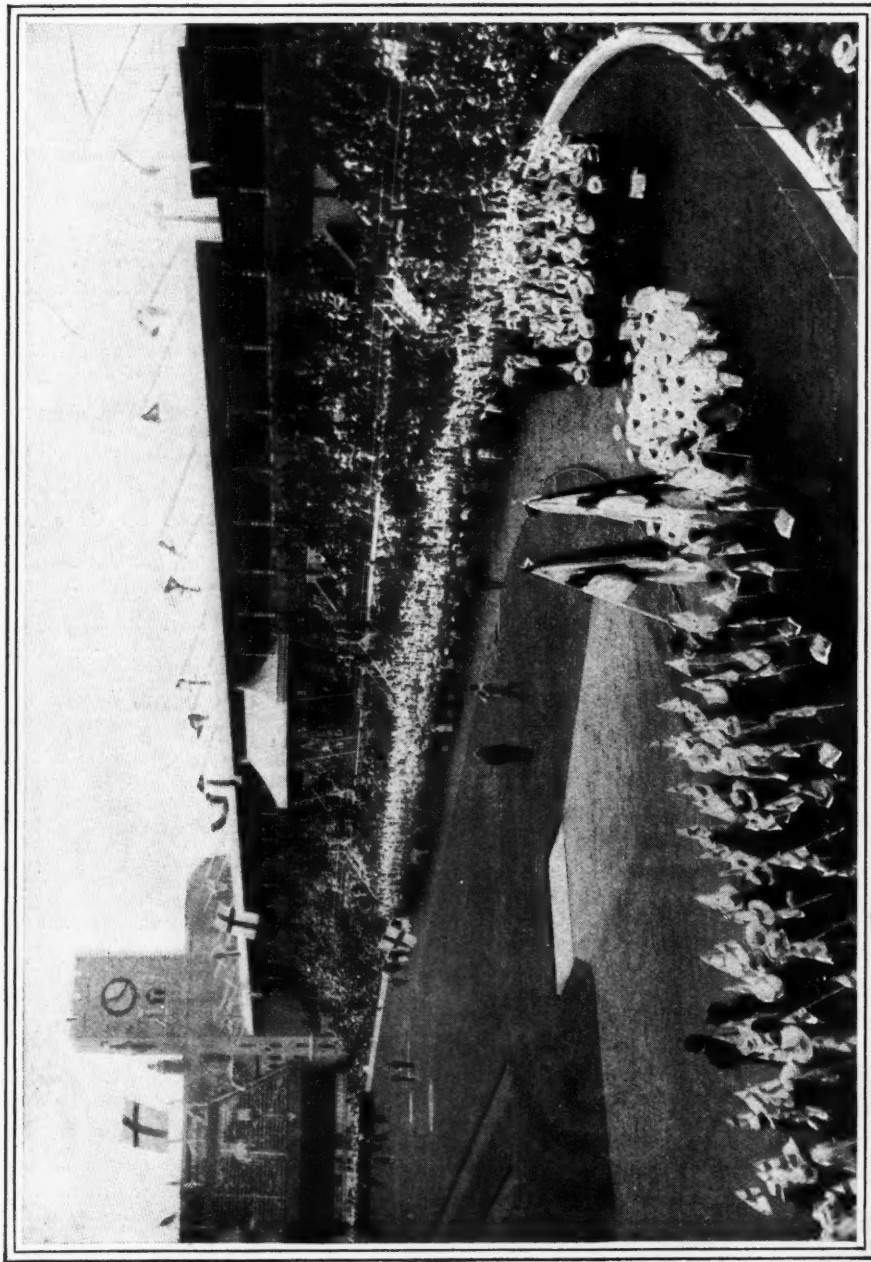
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Photograph by the American Press Association, New York
SCENE OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES OF 1912 AT STOCKHOLM (SEE PAGE 15)
(Procession passing in review before the King of Sweden at the dedication of the Stadium on June 15)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. XLVI

NEW YORK, JULY, 1912

No 1

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

Competing for the World's Greatest Office

When these pages are in the hands of their readers the great party conventions will have chosen their candidates and agreed upon their platforms. The position of the Democratic party had been more definite and less factional than at any time in many years. All of the candidates mentioned in these comments last month had made records that entitled them to some share in the favor of their party. Generally speaking, they were all of them men of modern, democratic views. If some were more radical in their avowals of political creed than were others, it was not certain that the moderately progressive might not prove more advanced in action than those whose political philosophy was regarded as more advanced. Nowadays so much more depends upon the individual character and temperament of the President than upon his creed, that there is not much practical point in the claim, for example, that Mr. William J. Bryan is more progressive than Governor Harmon of Ohio. What is chiefly wanted in the Presidency is firm and unselfish devotion to the duties of the office. The people of the country, through their representatives in Congress, can be relied upon to fix the broad trends of legislative action and general policy.

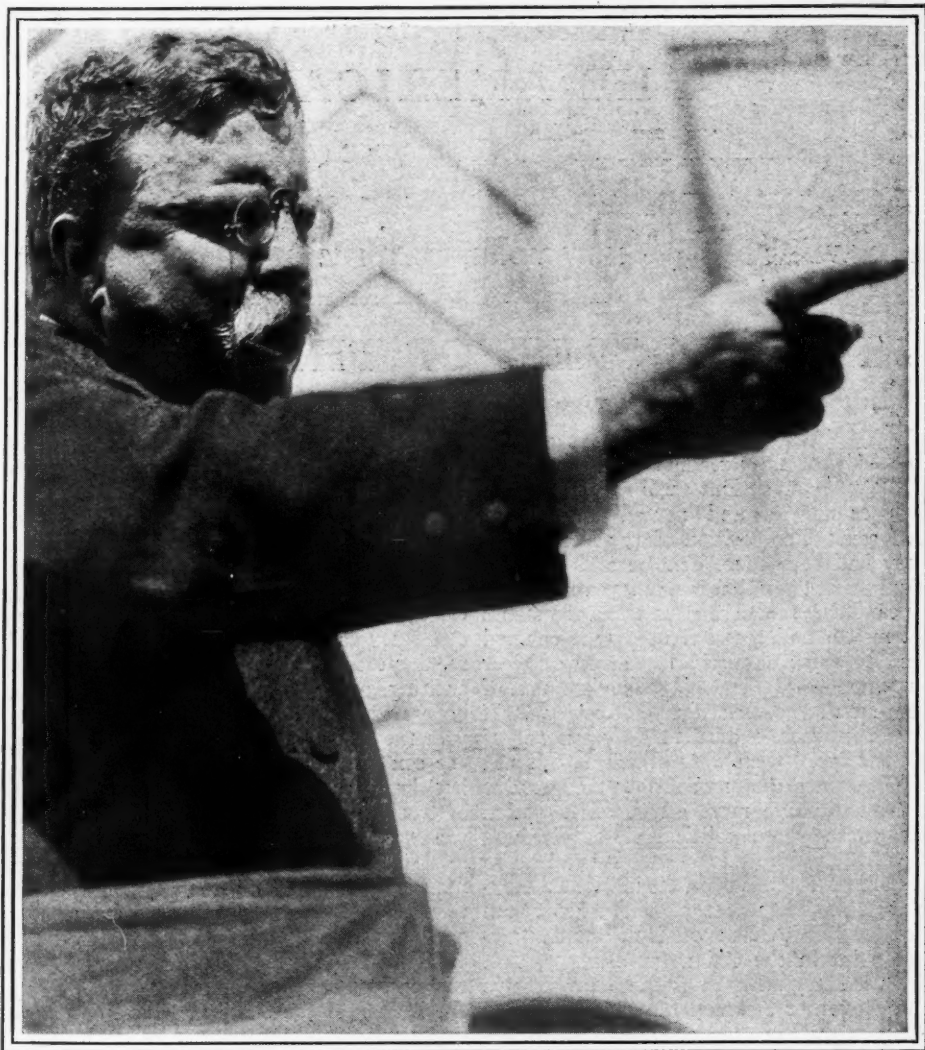
An Extended Political Season

The Republican clans had gathered at Chicago, but had not yet fought their differences to any conclusion, when these paragraphs were sent to press. We cannot, therefore, comment upon results or assume any particular outcome. Yet the preliminary politics of the year has provided enough for review and comment; and in our issues for the months of August, September, October, November, and December there will be ample oppor-

tunity for us to deal with nominees, platforms, and the events of the national "campaign" in the usual sense of that word. It will have seemed a very long political season, because never before have the contests within the parties,—those on behalf of particular candidates and particular points of political creed,—been so sensational or so long-continued as this year. The four months of regular campaign between parties is always exciting, and it is sometimes intense in its events and various distractions. But this year the four-months period (extending from the conventions to Election Day in November) has been preceded by five or six months of tremendous activity within the ranks of the two great parties. This activity has been made possible chiefly by the adoption, in a number of important States, of a direct system of ascertaining popular preference for candidates. This method has replaced the old system under which party caucuses and conventions were, in the main, controlled by the leaders of the State and local organizations, respectively.

The Progressive Republicans

As respects the Republican party, a very remarkable situation was soon disclosed. Wherever the rank and file of the voters had an opportunity to express themselves honestly, it was found that the Republican party was overwhelmingly opposed to the Taft administration and its political alliances, and that it was strongly in favor of the progressive movement and leaders. Wherever, on the other hand, there were no direct primaries, and the people were not able to express themselves, it was discovered that the Taft administration had secured the support of the local leaders who controlled party machinery, and that the old caucus and convention methods usually re-



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THE PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY CAMPAIGN,—MR. ROOSEVELT ADDRESSING A NEW JERSEY AUDIENCE

sulted in the obtaining of solid Taft delegations from such States.

Taft and Roosevelt before the People
Early in the preliminary campaign, the leaders of the progressive movement, including the governors of a number of States, had persuaded Mr. Roosevelt to permit them to make him their candidate. Since several of the most typical Republican States had provided for a direct expression of preference, it came to be understood that each of the two leading candidates would stand or fall by the popular verdict in these States. The

Taft forces made even more effort to carry the primaries than was made by the supporters of Mr. Roosevelt. President Taft virtually put the Presidency out of commission for many weeks, while he toured these States in person and added his appeals and arguments to the efforts of the party organizations that were controlled in his interests. He had expected to carry Pennsylvania, but lost it by a vote so overwhelming as to leave little doubt about the views of the Eastern Republicans. The verdict of Illinois was the same. California and the Pacific Coast stood with Pennsylvania and Illinois.



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PRESIDENT TAFT DEFENDING HIS ADMINISTRATION IN THE NEW JERSEY PRIMARY CAMPAIGN

*The Climax
in Ohio*

But Mr. Taft, even against the changed views of his own principal supporters, believed that there might be some moral excuse for his continuance as a candidate if he could carry his own State of Ohio. No resources were overlooked or neglected in his behalf. He spoke in practically every county of the State, and at many places in some of the counties. He had given it to be understood that he would accept as conclusive the verdict of his own State. After days of intense personal campaigning by both candidates, the Republican voters of Ohio rendered their de-

cision. Mr. Roosevelt had not spoken in Mr. Taft's home city of Cincinnati, or that immediate region. The President, in consequence, was allowed to obtain the six delegates from the southwestern corner of Ohio, and he secured two from another district in the State. All the rest of Ohio's forty-two district delegates were won by Colonel Roosevelt, with a large aggregate majority. Thus Mr. Taft's defeat in his home State was crushing, and its discouraging effect upon his supporters was evident in all directions. They considered that his candidacy was no longer excusable or even possible, from the



THE RECALL

From the Times (Washington)

standpoint of those who were honestly looking forward to a Republican victory in November.

*Flouting
the
Popular Verdict*

The President himself, however, could not give up. His determination to be renominated at whatever hazard to the party had apparently become a sort of obsession. He cheerfully announced that he would have at least a few delegates from Ohio, and that he was sure to obtain the six delegates-at-large that would be selected by Ohio's State convention on the third day of June. It was true that Mr. Roosevelt had carried almost every county in the State, and had carried the State at large by a majority of over 30,000. A State convention, therefore, which should give Mr. Taft the six delegates-at-large would not only act against the expressed wishes of the party, but would be guilty of a sort of flagrancy of defiant misrepresentation that few public men would care to profit by. The Taft forces were in control of the "hold-over" organization machinery long enough to give them the advantage in the State convention; and they actually succeeded in obtaining for Mr. Taft the six delegates-at-large by a close shave. This result, of course, was due to a defect in the primary-election law; and Mr. Taft's winning these six delegates was purely by technical methods in politics that simply added one more count to the already long list of steps and proceedings in discredit of his candidacy.

"Obtuseness" in an Acute Period

One of Mr. Taft's most distinguished and unflinching advisers made use (in private) of the word that must have occurred to many men who had followed the daily course of this astonish-

ing attempt to capture a national convention by sheer command of any methods or resources that could be invoked. His word was "obtuseness." The history of the Taft methods in Michigan, where a special session of the Legislature provided a primary law, affords an illustration that is fairly typical. The sole object of calling a special session and passing a Presidential preference primary law was to put it into use this year. One word from Mr. Taft would have allowed the Michigan voters to express their preference. It took a two-thirds vote of the Legislature to give the bill immediate effect. More than two-thirds so voted in one House, and much more than a majority in the other House. One or two votes additional would have allowed Michigan to use its new primary law, which had been passed for no possible reason except that it might be used. Mr. Taft was not willing to allow any of his adherents in the Legislature to cast the one or two votes that would have subjected his candidacy to the fair test of public opinion. So Michigan was put in the silly position of having incurred the expense of an extra session of the Legislature to pass a Presidential primary act early in the year 1912 that will have practical effect in the year 1916.

*Offending
the Public
Conscience*

The Republican voters of Michigan were as overwhelmingly opposed to Mr. Taft as were those of Ohio, Wisconsin, or Illinois. But by preventing the Michigan voters from acting directly,



WILL HE HAVE TO TAKE THEM?

From the Dispatch (Columbus)

a part of the delegation was secured for Taft by methods of a kind that the direct-primary movement is intended to destroy forever in our political life. Through the whole of this preliminary campaign there had been this

same fatuous disregard of the public conscience,—an inability to see that delegates won in the very face of a verdict like that of Ohio are a liability rather than an asset. For undoubtedly it is true that even with his own minority of supporters in Ohio Mr. Taft was morally weaker after he secured the delegates-at-large that equitably belonged to Mr. Roosevelt, than he would have been if he had not taken these delegates by the pure practice of machine politics. Dismayed as were Mr. Taft's managers and chief supporters, after the stupendous defeat in the President's own State, the candidate himself would not admit any chance of final failure. Announcing that he already had delegates enough to nominate him, he proceeded at once to New Jersey, in order to stump that State even more thoroughly than he had traversed Ohio, in order to regain his prestige by a victory on May 28.

New Jersey
Follows
Ohio

Colonel Roosevelt also canvassed New Jersey during several days, and the State was aroused as never before in a preliminary contest. Mr. Taft, who was supported by the organization leaders, canvassed every nook and corner of the State, and spoke up to the very opening of the polls at one o'clock on May 28. Yet Colonel Roosevelt swept the entire State, carried every district, and secured all of New Jersey's twenty-eight delegates. Taft and Roosevelt alike had appeared before these great bodies of Republican voters in different States, admitting frankly in their hundreds of speeches that these voters were representative of the Republican party as a whole. The contest was personal, direct, and unsparing. When men enter into a campaign of that kind before voters, in all English-speaking countries, it is understood that they mean to respect those voters and to abide by their judgment. Yet Mr. Taft, having thus appealed to the voters, was unwilling to show the slightest consideration for the results. He proceeded to set fresh guards about the bunches of "roped and tied" delegates that had been secured by snap conventions south of Mason and Dixon's line in the winter and early spring. He proposed, with blind disregard of ultimate consequences, to offset the twenty-eight votes of New Jersey by his twenty votes from Mississippi and his eighteen from South Carolina, although New Jersey cast over 265,000 Republican votes four years ago, while these two Southern States cast only about 4000 Republican votes apiece.

Trying to
Work Both
Systems

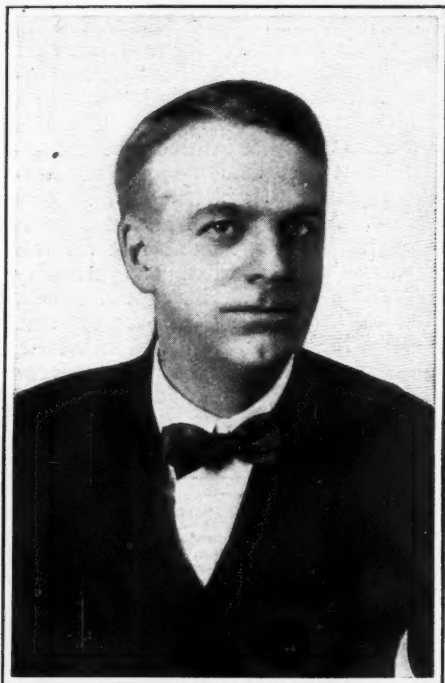
No individual candidate, indeed, is responsible for a system that gives the so-called "rotten boroughs" their enormous voting strength in a Republican national convention. But this happened to be a year in which the real Republican party had made up its mind to express its preference and nominate its own candidate. And Mr. Taft had accepted this new system in a large number of the real Republican States, and had gone personally into those States to make his appeal. Under the circumstances existing this year, any man who,—like LaFollette, Taft, and Roosevelt,—had voluntarily become a candidate for the Presidency before the Republican voters, and had made his claim for support at the primaries, could not with consistency turn about



THE LONE FISHERMAN'S TALE OF THE "BIG ONES THAT GOT AWAY"

From the *Daily News* (Chicago)

and try to use the "rotten borough" delegations to defeat the expressed will of the Republican States in which he had been active as a contestant in the primary election. But this does not state the situation at its worst. In no case is it reasonable that the will of the Republican States should be defeated by delegates from States where there is not in fact a real Republican party. But when those delegates are secured, not as a result of voluntary action in the Southern States themselves, but by direct orders from the White House, issued to postmasters and other Presidential appointees, the continued exploitation of these delegates by a candidate subsequently defeated in the real Republican States, is not defensible from any political or ethical standpoint whatsoever.



HON. W. S. KENYON, THE IOWA PROGRESSIVE WHO CARRIED THE JUNE PRIMARIES FOR THE SENATORSHIP

*Failure
in Both
Directions*

If Mr. Taft had won great victories in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, California, Maryland and the other primary States, after he had spent weeks or months of his time in appealing to the voters, nobody would have objected to his retention of the Southern support. But everyone knows that if the Southern conventions had been held after the Northern primary elections, rather than many weeks previous, they would have refused to take White House orders, and would voluntarily have flocked to the standard of the Northern winner, who happened to be Colonel Roosevelt. The instructions under which these Southern delegates were pledged to Mr. Taft were not imposed upon them by Republican constituents in their own States, but by emissaries from the administration at Washington. The whole situation illustrates in the most perfect manner the reason why Mr. Taft has failed to secure the verdict of the voters in the primary election States. He has been unable through some moral or mental incapacity, to hold strongly either to the one course or to the other. If he had meant to nominate himself by the use of patronage and power, and the

method of bargain and dicker with machines and organizations in the different States, he should have adhered to that method consistently. If, on the other hand, he had been really willing to show faith in the Republican voters, he should have welcomed the direct primary everywhere, and in doing so he should have put himself confidently in the hands of the people. Unfortunately, he seemed to think he could play both games at the same time. The result is that he was repudiated at the primary elections by sweeping Republican majorities, and that he also lost altogether the real loyalty and moral support of the organization leaders who had been nominally brought to his support.

*South Dakota
—a Typical
Verdict*

The last in the series of great Presidential preference primaries was that of South Dakota, held on June 4. Taft, LaFollette, and Roosevelt were the Republican contestants. Mr. Taft received only about fifteen votes out of every hundred. La Follette received almost twice as many as Taft, and Roosevelt about twice as many as La Follette. South Dakota is a Republican State, strongly progressive. Its people are fairly typical as respects Western sentiment. Mr. Taft's supporters appeared actively before the people of South Dakota, and in so doing admitted that the Republican voters ought to be consulted about the choice of a candidate for President. Yet, having lost South Dakota, which has ten delegates, Mr. Taft was prepared to neutralize the verdict in that Republican State by the use of his twelve delegates from Florida. The South Dakota vote was particularly instructive, because it came at the very time when the leaders were gathering at Chicago to arrange for the convention. It showed, not a loss of Roosevelt sentiment, but a steady gain. And in that respect it indicated the trend of popular sentiment throughout the country.

*Iowa in a
Conclusive
Test*

An even more significant illustration of this definite growth of anti-Taft sentiment was furnished in Iowa, early in June, by the direct vote of the Republicans upon candidates for the United States Senate. It will be remembered that when Senator Dolliver died the Governor of Iowa appointed the Hon. Lafayette W. Young, editor of the Des Moines *Capital*, to fill the vacancy until the Legislature should act. Mr. Young was one of the Taft leaders of the State, and his newspaper was the principal Taft organ. When the Legislature assembled there was a long contest, with the result that

Mr. Young was defeated and the Hon. W. S. Kenyon was elected Senator to fill out the brief portion that remained of Dolliver's term. Mr. Young went back to Iowa, declaring his purpose to speak in every school-house in the State and to come back to the United States Senate for the full term with a popular majority of at least 50,000 over Kenyon. This contest has now been held, and Kenyon has won over Young by a plurality of about 75,000.

"Lafe" Young
with the
Progressives

The simple fact is that the widely known and very popular "Lafe" Young had been training in the wrong company. The vote of June 3 was not merely an expression of preference for Kenyon as against Young, but it was a vote of the progressive Republicans as against the Taft organization. Mr. Young happens to be a man who can recognize a fact when it has struck him in the face! He came out on the day after his defeat in a bold editorial declaring that his State and the country were progressive in sentiment and that "standpatism" was dead and might as well be buried. He at once abandoned his support of Taft for the Presidency and declared that the whole of Iowa should support Cummins as a progressive leader and as the State's favorite son. A direct Presidential primary in Iowa would have gone overwhelmingly against Taft. It will be remembered that no Roosevelt work whatever was done in Iowa when the delegates were chosen in April, because Senator Cummins had become a candidate, with Mr. Roosevelt's entire good-will, and it was thought that he could secure for himself a united Iowa delegation. It happened, however, that while Senator Cummins was busy with his work at Washington the Taft men were using organization methods to capture the district conventions. Thus Mr. Cummins secured only ten delegates, while Mr. Taft obtained the remaining sixteen. It was evident last month that either Cummins or Roosevelt, in a popular primary, could have carried Iowa against Taft by a vote that would have shown Iowa Republican sentiment to have been in harmony with that of Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, the Dakotas, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

A Glance Over
Republican
Territory

At this point let the reader glance at a map of the United States, in order more clearly to grasp the geographical situation suggested by this list of States. Surrounding Iowa are South Da-

kota and Nebraska on the west, Minnesota on the north, Wisconsin and Illinois on the east, and Missouri on the south. All these surrounding States went strongly against Taft, and all of them had primary tests of one kind or another. Further eastward is Indiana, lying between Illinois and Ohio. Does anyone suppose that there is a different kind of Republican sentiment in Indiana from that which was expressed in the primary elections of Ohio and Illinois? Assuredly there is not. A direct vote of Indiana Republicans would probably have shown an even stronger Roosevelt strength than that of Ohio. The same thing is true of Kentucky, on the south; and as for Michigan, on the north, the Roosevelt sentiment would have proven still greater in its ratio if the primary law could have been put into effect. Next beyond Ohio we have the States of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Maryland, and New Jersey. In the three more important of these the State-wide Presidential primaries were treated as of the utmost importance by both Taft and Roosevelt; and Roosevelt carried them all by rousing majorities. The fourth of these States, West Virginia, without a State-wide primary, gave its entire sixteen delegates to Roosevelt in response to a popular movement so unmistakable that the Taft people were unable to check it in a single district.

A Party
Facing Life
or Death

It is only by a study of party conditions in this great series of Republican States that one can fully realize the situation that confronted the Republican convention when it met at Chicago. These are the States upon which a Republican candidate must absolutely rely if he is to be elected in November. It is true that Mr. Taft expected to retain in the convention the votes of most of the delegates from the great State of New York. But all political experts had admitted privately that a fair vote of the Republicans of New York, if held in June,—after Mr. Taft had lost Ohio and New Jersey as well as Pennsylvania,—would have given Mr. Roosevelt an enormous victory in his own State. With Mr. Barnes of Albany as the chief Taft manager in the convention at Chicago, it was deemed impossible for Taft, even if nominated, to come within 200,000 votes of carrying the State of New York against any popular Democratic nominee. Every competent Democrat, speaking in confidence, admitted that Mr. Roosevelt might carry New York, while denying that any other Republican could succeed this year.



From the Moffett Studio, Chicago

GROUP OF SUB-COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS FOR REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

(Upper row, left to right: R. E. Williams, Portland, Oregon; E. C. Duncan, Raleigh, N. C.; A. I. Vorys, Lancaster, Ohio; Fred W. Upham, Chicago; David W. Mulvane, Topeka, Kans.)

(Lower row: William F. Stone, Baltimore, Md.; Francis Murphy, Newark, N. J.; Harry S. New, Indianapolis, Ind.; William Hayward, Secretary National Committee; Victor Rosewater, Chairman National Committee)

*The Line-up
at
Chicago*

The situation at Chicago was unprecedented in its character. Mr. Roosevelt was the choice of the great mass of Republicans in the States that usually give Republican majorities. Mr. Taft's largest element of strength was made up of the delegations from the far South, where the Republican party is almost non-existent; and these delegates had been procured by command and coercion from Washington through use of the Presidential appointing power. The next largest factor in the Taft support was the larger part of the delegation from New York, which had been arranged by Mr. Barnes and the State machine in advance of the holding of any primaries or conventions. There remained, in the Taft line-up, groups of delegates from one State or another representing in almost every case the old-fashioned kind of manipulation by machines and professional politicians. Thus the Taft support represented no definite body of public opinion, and no group or section of the Republican States. It merely

represented the results of the most drastic and unsparing effort ever made in the history of the United States to thwart the will of a great party, and to secure control of its convention at the price of its wrath and alienation.

*Motives of
the
Leaders*

It may well be asked if the Republican leaders who were associated in this desperate effort were blind or insane, or both. The answer is very simple and easy to give. They were neither blind nor insane, nor were they for a moment touched by the delusion that Mr. Taft could lead the party to victory. Many of them were convinced that this must be a Democratic year, beyond recovery, and that it would be far better to let Mr. Taft have his nomination and bear the brunt of the impending defeat than for them to have had a falling out with the administration during Taft's last two years, without any chance thereby to save the party. For it must be remembered that the anti-Taft forces were

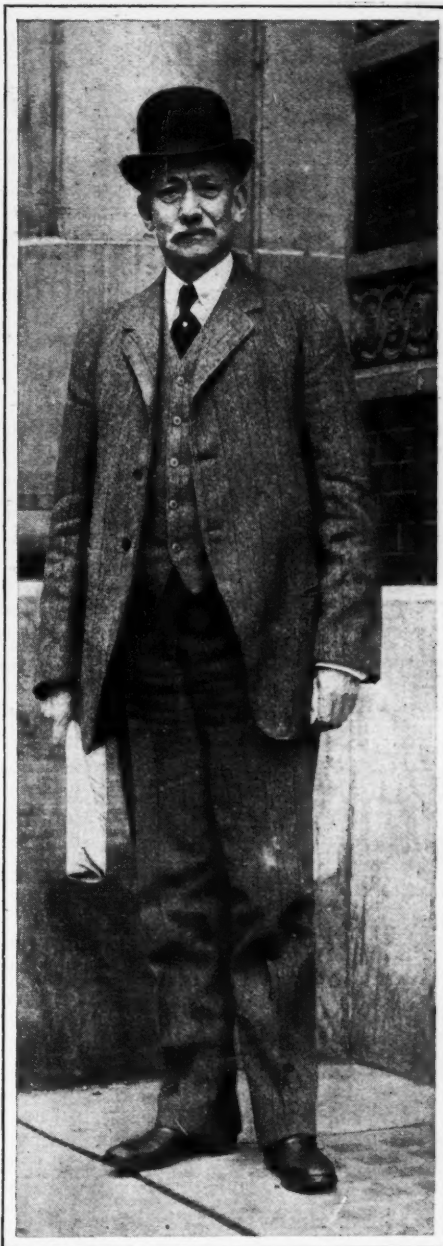
for a good while as sheep without a shepherd. Normal Republican leaders and organization men could not enlist under the banner of Mr. La Follette. The average Republican leader did not believe that Mr. Roosevelt would come forward as a candidate, or even that he would accept if nominated. This view was assiduously promulgated by the Taft people. They explained everywhere that they had confidential relations with Mr. Roosevelt, and that he would not only refuse to run, but would appear as a Taft supporter in due time.

*How They
Were
Persuaded*

The mistakes of the administration had resulted in the Democratic tidal wave of 1910, which had swept across nearly all the Republican States and elected the present Democratic Congress. Most of the regular Republican leaders found it easy to follow the line of least resistance. They were cajoled and pursued incessantly, and were committed to the Taft candidacy in ways from which they could see no honorable retreat, although they had cause to regret their predicament later on. Thus the National Committee was brought to Washington last December to make arrangements for the convention, and was lined up for Taft by every conceivable effort of a political and social nature. The committee should, of course, have met in Chicago, and done its work with loyalty to the Republican party rather than with loyalty to Mr. Taft and his candidacy. But beyond all these considerations, there lies the major reason why many Republican leaders took part in the desperate fight to renominate Taft. These leaders had kept political power and influence solely by virtue of the methods of professional politics. The anti-Taft movement was associated with direct primaries, and a new kind of politics. The progressive movement was directed not merely against Taft, but against the kind of leadership for which many of these men stood. To defeat Taft meant also the triumph of methods which would greatly reduce the political power of a set of party managers of whom Mr. Barnes is typical.

*The "System"
or the
Party?*

Mr. Roosevelt, when brought forward as the anti-Taft progressive leader, based his fight upon the principle of rule by the people and the overthrow of the bosses. Whereupon, the party managers and bosses found it necessary to adhere to the Taft cause. They became indifferent as to the success of the party in the



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SENATOR ROOT, OF NEW YORK

(Who was selected by the National Committee as temporary chairman of the Chicago Convention to make the "keynote speech")

November elections. They knew, in fact, that to nominate Taft meant overwhelming party defeat. But while to nominate Roosevelt would mean at least a fighting chance of party victory, it would mean the total recon-



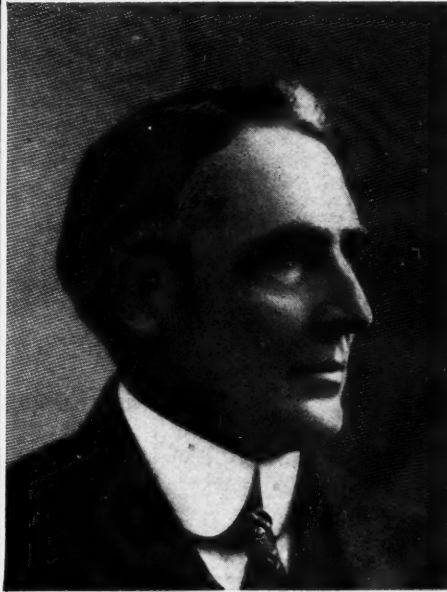
"I'VE GOT A WHITE MAN A-WORKIN' FO' ME!"

From the *Journal* (Detroit)

struction of the party, under a new set of leaders. The old managers, for reasons of their own personal power and profit, wanted to control the party machinery. They had no possible use for Mr. Taft, and in private were more harsh in their condemnation of him than were the progressives. But they had still less use for Mr. Roosevelt, for the obvious reason that Mr. Roosevelt, if successful, would have no use for them. Thus these leaders were neither blind nor insane. They were reconciled, in advance, to party defeat this year. They wished to control the party machinery and be ready for reactions against the Democratic party that might come in 1914 and 1916.

To understand the situation which we have thus endeavored to explain is to appreciate the spirit in which the factions gathered at Chicago early in June, when the National Committee began to deal with the so-called "contests." More than 200 of the seats claimed by Taft delegates were contested by rival claimants who were supporting Roosevelt. The greater part of these were from the Southern States. In those cases, the Roosevelt claimants appeared for purposes of *protest* rather than of real *contest*. It was easy to show that the Taft delegates had been secured by means wholly disreputable and un-

worthy. But it was not easy to show that the Roosevelt contestants represented any regular processes of choosing delegates. That the Roosevelt contestants came nearer representing such opinion as could be found in the "Black Belt" was undoubtedly true. If the National Committee had been capable of acting with large and substantial views of justice, it could not indeed have seated most of these Southern Roosevelt contestants; but neither could it have seated the Taft delegations who were clearly chosen by methods saturated and malodorous with impropriety. The whole country, regardless of party, was looking on; and it would have applauded a National Committee capable of rising to the level of obvious wisdom and justice, if both sets of delegates from these manipulated rotten boroughs had been thrown out. In England, Canada, or Australia—where Anglo-Saxon fair play is found in politics as well as in sport—the seating these Taft delegations would have been impossible. What does the progressive movement mean, after all? It means that the people are tired of indecency in their politics, and want honor and justice throughout the realm of political and governmental life. We are running politics and government in America on an ethical plane far below that of the Stock Exchange or the grocery store, the business corporation or ordinary retail trade.



HON. WARREN G. HARDING, OF OHIO
(Chosen to make the speech putting President Taft in nomination at Chicago)



HON. WILLIAM A. PRENDERGAST, OF NEW YORK
(Who was designated to make the nominating speech for Colonel Roosevelt at Chicago)

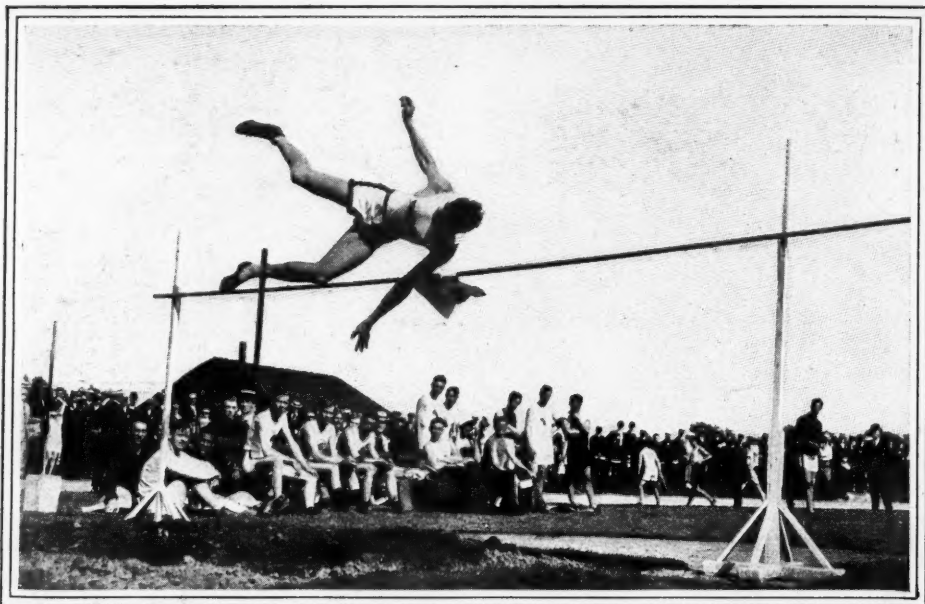
Instances of Low Ethics

The National Committee, in passing upon contests, acted of course in the most superficial and rapid way, without going much into the facts. Its duty was to prepare a temporary roll of the convention, leaving to the convention itself the final question of determining the rights of its members. But it was shown repeatedly before the National Committee that Taft delegates had been procured by trickery. It was made plain that in several State conventions, where a number of seats had been under contest, the State committees had admitted the Taft contestants to the temporary roster without giving the Roosevelt men a hearing, and had then permitted these contestants to vote themselves in as permanent members, and to vote the Roosevelt men out. The contest over the delegates at large from Indiana illustrated these unworthy methods. No opportunity was given to prove conclusively that the Indiana Roosevelt delegates-at-large were entitled to seats in the convention; but enough was shown to convince outsiders and Democratic onlookers that the Taft control of the Indiana convention had not been secured by fair and open methods. The Taft managers went so far as to attempt to throw out entire delegations from great States like California, which had been carried by Roose-

velt, and which they themselves had tried unsuccessfully to win. Their argument was that the California primary law does not accord with the rules of the National Committee for choosing delegates by districts. If they had meant to raise a quibble of this kind, they should not have taken part in the California primaries. Men like Senator Crane, of Massachusetts, sitting in the National Committee, could not support plans so flagrant as this for the disfranchisement of a great State. And so the California delegates were duly admitted. But the incident showed how far below ordinary standards of decency and fair play the methods of our machine politics have descended.

The Gains of This Political Year

Candidates will come and go, and parties will rise and fall with the decades or the centuries, but the political life of the people must go on, and their government must live and serve the ends of common justice and the general welfare. This struggle of 1912 is chiefly significant because of its relation to the great perennial movement for the betterment of human conditions through the improvement of the organs and instruments of government. Whatever may have been the exact outcome of the Chicago and Baltimore conventions,



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

AN AMERICAN CANDIDATE FOR OLYMPIC HONORS

(Mr. George L. Horine, of Stanford University, holds the world's record for the high jump and will be one of the American contestants in the Olympic Games at Stockholm)

there will be permanent gain to the people of the United States by reason of the struggles of 1912. In some of the States, the new primary laws have been imperfectly drafted. They can be greatly improved. It costs a good deal of money to operate these primary systems, and there are still some people who prefer to have our political arrangements made for us quietly by little groups of interested gentlemen, conspiring in secret. But the people of the country will not be induced to return to any such methods. The President of the United States is no longer a modest executive official, obeying the Constitution and seeing that the laws are enforced. He has become an arrogant ruler, exercising power in a more personal way and with more profound effects than any other ruler on earth whether czar, emperor, sultan, king, president, or prime minister. The people will no longer be content merely to choose in November between two candidates, one called "Republican" and the other called "Democratic,"—selected for them by hidden forces having interests of their own to be served. The people will insist upon having a part in the earlier selection of the candidates, as well as in the later and final election of the President himself. We have gradually come under a personal government; and since this

means much to the people, they will insist upon selecting their ruler.

As to Second Terms

And it is this fact of the new autocracy exercised by the President that gives significance to the pending discussion about successive terms. We have witnessed the power of the Presidency ruthlessly exercised during the past two years, in order that the autocracy may be retained in the hands of the present ruler until March 4, 1917. And we have seen the real issue purposely diverted by some of the newspapers to a meaningless discussion of a "third term." Mr. Roosevelt is a man in private life. If his fellow-citizens choose to bring him forward as a candidate, it is clearly enough their right to do so. But Mr. Taft is in office as President, and his candidacy for another term has been upon his own initiative. The leverage he has brought to bear to obtain another term has been almost solely that of his power and prestige as President. The time has come not for objecting to Presidential terms separated by intervals of retirement to private life; the objection henceforth must lie against *any consecutive terms whatsoever*. It is not necessary to amend the Constitution, although that might be desirable. The way to have one-

term Presidents is for all other candidates to do as Mr. Roosevelt did in November, 1904, when elected *for the first and only time* to the Presidency. He immediately announced that he would not be a candidate for another term in 1908; and he resisted all pressure that was brought to bear to make him change his mind. If Mr. Taft had followed that good example, and made a similar announcement in November, 1908, he would have been spared many troubles; and he would have been enabled to see the path of his public duty with a much clearer vision. Nobody will really care,—nor ought anybody to care,—how many times in the future William Howard Taft may yet come forward as a candidate for the Presidency,—always provided he is not using the White House as his campaign headquarters, and the President's power of patronage as a means for securing delegates. This is all the point there is to the talk of second terms or of third terms. And everybody at Washington who really understands our great national game of politics, knows that this is true.

*The
Olympic
Games*

The fifth Olympiad will be held at Stockholm, Sweden, in the second week of July. The program of games includes events in running, jumping, cycling, and other usual track features, as well as fencing, football, horse riding, lawn tennis, shooting, rowing, and yachting. In past Olympiads, American athletes have made a very creditable showing, in spite of the handicaps they have usually had to contend with from the travel involved and the change of climate. The track events will, of course, excite the greatest interest. At the fourth Olympic games, held in London in 1908, the Americans won nine of the field events as against two won by England. In the third Olympiad, at St. Louis in 1904, the Americans won all the track and field events with the exception of throwing the fifty-six-pound weight and lifting the bar. At Paris in 1900, eighteen of the twenty-four championship contests were captured by the teams from this country, while at Athens in 1896, at the first revival of the Olympic games, the nine men sent to Greece by the United States won every event in which they were entered. Mr. James E. Sullivan, one of our foremost authorities in the field of athletic sports, is the American Commissioner for the Fifth Olympiad, and other men who have been active in arranging for American representation and in gathering the athletes together are President G. T. Kirby, of the Amateur



DR. ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN
(President-elect of Amherst College)

Athletic Union, Mr. Everett C. Brown, president of the Chicago Athletic Club, and Mr. Bartow S. Weeks, of New York.

*Amherst's
New
President*

After the installation of President Hibben at Princeton, to which reference was made in our last number, the most important academic event of the past spring was the election of Dean Alexander Meiklejohn, of Brown University, as president of Amherst College, to succeed the Rev. Dr. George Harris, who resigned last November. Although a young man,—Dr. Meiklejohn is now in his forty-first year,—it is predicted that the new president will to a certain extent restore the old traditions of American college life in that he will be a classroom teacher, as well as an executive officer and financial agent. Furthermore, it is said



PRESIDENT BRUCE PAYNE, OF THE GEORGE PEABODY COLLEGE
FOR TEACHERS

of President Meiklejohn that he is a firm believer in the ancient college disciplines,—notably the study of the classics and philosophy, and that the principles recently set forth by the Amherst Class of '85 as the guiding precepts of college development in this country will find in him an ardent exponent. Amherst is one of the most vigorous and progressive of the New England colleges, and her wise determination to remain a college and to attempt only college work of high quality has been distinctly strengthened by the election of President Meiklejohn.

Rural Education in the South
In the field of Southern education nothing has occurred for a long time more significant than the action of the General Education Board, on May 24, in bestowing \$250,000 on the George Peabody College for Teachers at Nashville,

Tenn., for the establishment of the Seaman A. Knapp School of Country Life. In connection with this gift the board made a statement recognizing in generous terms the important service that has been rendered to the South in past years by the Peabody Education Fund and expressing interest in the promotion of practical farming in the Southern States and in the development of an efficient system of rural schools. It is fitting that the name of the late Dr. Seaman A. Knapp, who for ten years was in charge of the farmer's co-operative demonstration work in the South, should be commemorated by this gift. Since 85 per cent. of the people of the South live in the country it is most important that a system of efficient rural schools should be built up in that section. Dr. Bruce Payne has recently been called to the presidency of the George Peabody College and is now engaged in completing an endowment fund which will enable the institution to go forward with its work. The South has already contributed \$600,000.

The Minimum Wage in Massachusetts

The Massachusetts Minimum Wage bill, to which allusion was made in our April number, has been passed by the Legislature. The new law establishes a commission with power to organize wage boards in any industry in which it shall appear that the wages received by women are insufficient to supply the necessary cost of living and to support them in health. These wage boards are empowered to recommend a wage scale and to publish the names of employers who fail to comply with their recommendations. Farther than this the authority of the boards does not extend. It is expected, however, that the chief value of such boards will consist in the element of publicity rather than in their power to bring about a radical rise of wages. It is believed that employers who are sensitive to public opinion will soon take steps to establish better standards.



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

VISITORS ON BOARD THE GERMAN BATTLESHIP "MOLTKE" IN NEW YORK HARBOR
ON JUNE 9-12

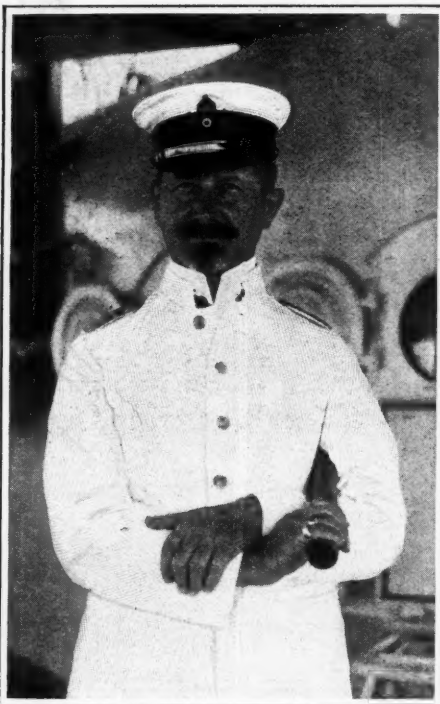
Germany
on the
Sea

The strength of German sea power and the solid achievements of German shipbuilding were demonstrated last month in an impressive way to the American people by the visit of the German squadron to the United States and the launching, at Hamburg, of the *Imperator*, of the Hamburg-American line, the largest steamship in the world. Three German warships, the *Moltke*, the *Bremen*, and the *Stettin*, came, by command of the Kaiser, to return the visit of the American warships to German waters last summer. Their reception in Hampton Roads and New York Harbor was made the occasion of an exchange of international courtesies, pleasantly expressing the friendship between the two countries. The *Moltke* is a battle-cruiser, a speedy vessel, capable of making more than 29 knots an hour. The Germans claim that she is the fastest war vessel of her size afloat. Her commander, Rear Admiral Rebeur-Paschwitz, the first of German seamen of his rank to visit this country, is an important official in the fighting section of the German navy. The fleet staff of officers includes two princes and two barons. On May 23, Ger-

many won one of the coveted blue ribbons of the sea when the largest steamship ever built, the Hamburg-American liner *Imperator*, of 50,000 tons, was launched from the Vulcan Yards at Hamburg, and christened by the Kaiser himself. At the ceremony the fate of the *Titanic* was inevitably present in people's minds, but, as was pointed out by officers of the line, this German steamship carries life-boats and life-rafts sufficient to take care of every one of her passengers and crew, which will aggregate more than 4000. The *Imperator* has new and specially designed safety appliances, and she will carry three wireless telegraph operators and two first officers, one of whom will always be charged with the security of the vessel. The *Imperator*, it is expected, will go into commission next summer.

Is it to be a
Third Intervention
in Cuba?

Last month, for the third time in fourteen years, an American military force landed in Cuba. In 1898 our troops and sailormen came to the aid of the Cuban people against the tyranny of Spain. In 1906, at the request of the Cuban president, they were sent to restore peace to a country distracted between two



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THE GENIAL AND EFFICIENT COMMANDER OF THE
VISITING GERMAN FLEET

(Rear Admiral Rebeur-Paschwitz, commander of the German warships which visited this country in June)

political parties just about to fly at each other's throats. They are now called in to protect American property and, it may develop later, to assure stable government in the island against the ravages of a race war—black against white. No sooner had the trouble over the demands made by the Spanish War Veterans' Association (explained in these pages for March) been disposed of, than a revolt of negroes broke out in Oriente, the easternmost province of the island. An army of negroes, variously estimated at from two to four thousand strong, under General Evaristo Estenoz, began attacks on some of the smaller towns and plantations in the region north of Santiago and Guantanamo. The insurrection soon spread throughout Oriente and into the neighboring province of Santa Clara.

Gomez
and the
Revolt

General Gomez, who has been President of Cuba since January, 1909, took measures to put down the rebellion, and a force of Cuban regulars, under the chief command of General Mon-

teagudo, was despatched to the scene of the disorder. It soon became evident, however, that, partly owing to the nature of the country, and partly, it is claimed, for mysterious political reasons, the loyal troops were not able to cope with the situation. Considerable American property was destroyed, and when it was seen that the administration was unable to protect its own interests, as well as the property and interests of foreigners, American warships were sent to the scene and marines landed. Confirming the official statement made by the American Minister at Havana, President Taft, on May 27, sent a message to President Gomez, stating that the landing of marines was "merely to be able to act promptly in case it should unfortunately become necessary to protect American life and property by rendering assistance to the Cuban government. . . . But these ordinary methods of protection are entirely dissociated from any question of intervention." In reply, President Gomez asserted his ability and firm intention to put down the revolt. He admitted the right of the American government to land troops to protect American property; and "hoped" that intervention would not be thought of.

The Case
for the
Negro

Cuba, it should not be forgotten, is in the midst of a presidential campaign. When this and the usual amenities of Latin-American electioneering are borne in mind, it becomes easier to



UNCLE SAM DOESN'T LIKE THE WAY CUBA CONDUCTS
HER PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

From the Journal (Minneapolis)



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THE CAMP OF THE AMERICAN MARINES AT GUANTANAMO

understand some of the otherwise mysterious developments at Havana, as well as in the much disturbed province of Oriente. On another page this month we print a survey of the general political situation in the Cuban Republic at present by one well qualified to speak. This writer rather minimizes the strength and by implication condemns the cause of the negroes. It should not be forgotten, however, that the Cuban negro, who makes up almost one-third of the population of the island, has a real grievance. The negroes fought for Cuban independence along with the whites against the Spanish. Several of their race, notably the Maceo brothers, rose high in the military councils of the country. The negroes supported the Liberals in the campaign which put Tomas Estrada Palma in the presidential chair. Estenoz, their leader, insists that they have been denied many civil rights by the government and the courts. They have generally de-



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

AMERICAN JACK TARS MARCHING THROUGH ONE OF THE STREETS OF THE CUBAN CITY OF SANTIAGO

served more consideration than the government has been willing to concede to them. The Morua law, recently passed, which forbids the formation of political parties along race lines aroused strong protests from the negro element. They claim that, while it may be good patriotism to forbid the formation of a political organization on the basis of color,—“if people are opposed because they are dark-skinned, it is as dark-skinned men that they must organize.” General Evaristo Estenóz, a man of ability and vigor, is at their head. Undoubtedly many outrages must be laid at the door of the negro guerrillas, but it is certain that they honestly believe they have a cause for which, moreover, they seem willing to suffer and die.

It is believed by an increasing number of Americans that the Cuban situation, as well as the troubled affairs in Mexico, are very largely due to financial and other assistance from persons in the United States who desire to force annexation because of their interests in these Latin-American countries. This has been more than once openly charged in both houses of Congress. In the Senate, on June 8, Senator Nelson, of Minnesota, who is always conservative and careful in his statements, stated that he had reliable information for the statement that

these frequently recurring troubles in Cuba and Mexico have their origin in this country. I protest plainly that the people who are interested in sugar plantations in Cuba are, to a large extent, instrumental in stirring up these troubles. Their evident purpose is to get up such a condition there that they can move for the annexation of Cuba to the United States, and thus get rid of the sugar duty which they are now paying.

In the discussion following Senator Nelson's speech, Senator Bacon, of Georgia, the ranking Democratic member of the Foreign Relations Committee, introduced a resolution calling for some formulation of “the sense of the Senate regarding intervention without express sanction from Congress.” Mr. Bacon wants Congress to prescribe fixed rules for intervention. His resolution states that, except in the case of sudden emergency for the protection of American interests, “there is no authority for the use of the army or navy of the United States for any military operations within the territory of a foreign nation, unless the same is expressly authorized or directed by act of Congress.” The resolution further directs the Foreign Relations Committee to “examine as to what

conditions or circumstances will constitute such conditions of emergency as will justify the use of the army or navy of the United States in the prosecution of military operations within the territory of a foreign nation in the absence of such express authority from Congress.” And, further (the resolution provided), to report such legislation, if any is required, to prescribe and regulate such military operations.

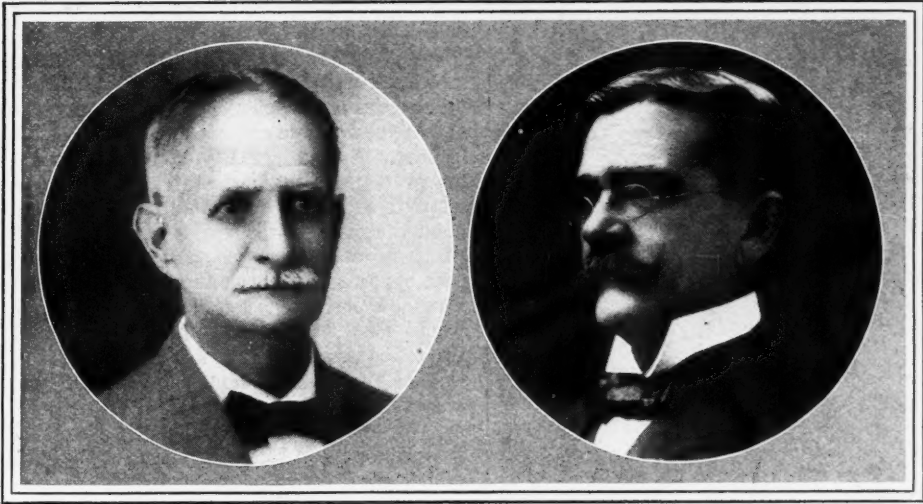
Supervising
the Panaman
Election

This month there is to be a presidential election in the republic of Panama. President Arosemena and his administration have endorsed the candidacy of General Pedro A. Diaz, who is at the head of the party known as the Patriotic Union. The opposition has concentrated its support upon Dr. Belisario Porras, who for some years represented his country at Washington. At the earnest solicitation of President Arosemena and other Panaman public officials, the balloting will be supervised by an American commission, in order that fair and business-like elections may be assured. This supervisory board consists of Mr. Dodge, our Minister at Panama City; Colonel Goethals, chairman of the Canal Commission, and Colonel Green, of the Tenth Infantry, commander of the forces in the Canal Zone. These gentlemen, with the assistance of Panaman officials, have already gone over the registry lists and are coöperating with these officials to the end that a free expression of the public will at the polls may be assured. The American commis-



TRUST BUSTING AND INTERNATIONAL COMPLICATIONS
(Uncle Sam's threatened tilt with Brazil over the coffee valorization scheme)

From the *Record-Herald* (Chicago)



Gen. Pedro A. Diaz, President of the Patriotic Union, candidate of the Administration

Dr. Belisario Porras, formerly Panaman Minister at Washington, candidate of the Opposition

CANDIDATES FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA

sion has been authorized by the Panaman authorities to settle all controversies and maintain order during the election. Of course, the offices of the commission are entirely friendly, the aid of the United States Government having been sought by both parties.

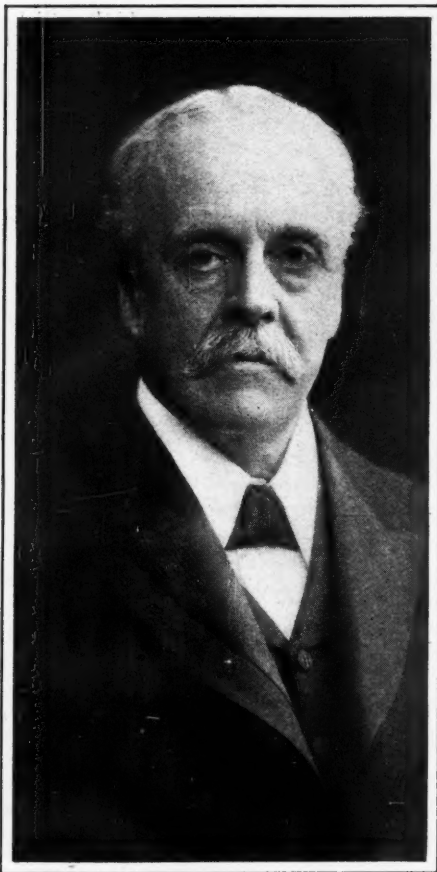
It is six years since the republic of Brazil began its unique attempt to defy the law of supply and demand by inaugurating the much discussed, but little understood, coffee valorization plan. It was not, however, until several weeks ago, when the "Money Trust" investigators, began their efforts to fix Wall Street's share in raising the price of coffee, that the inside history of Brazil's efforts in behalf of her coffee trade became known. Approximately 80 per cent. of the world's supply of coffee is grown in the Brazilian state of Sao Paulo. This is the most progressive section of the commonwealth, with the greatest railroad mileage, the most extensive internal improvements, the best schools and the greatest wealth. It alone contributes one-half of the total revenue of the republic. Therefore, it is easy to understand the solicitation of the federal government at Rio de Janeiro for the well-being of the 3,000,000 inhabitants, mostly coffee producers, of Sao Paulo. The world's leading coffee producing countries, according to the figures of the Department of Agriculture for 1909 (in millions of pounds) are Brazil, 2,250;

"Valorizing"
Coffee

Venezuela, 94; Mexico, 80; Colombia, 92½; Porto Rico, 45; Haiti, 41; Java, 35, India, 28; Arabia, 15¼; Abyssinia, 10. Total, three billions. During the decade from 1885 to 1895 coffee sold high. Then, owing to poor crops and other economic causes, the price declined, and the financial condition of the planters in Sao Paulo became increasingly less favorable until there was much distress and the government was appealed to for aid. The cabinet and representatives of the three coffee-producing states of the republic—Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Minas Geraes—then evolved the valorization scheme.

How Brazil
Launched the
Scheme

The object of this plan was to maintain coffee at a remunerative price to the grower. This was to be effected by a minimum quotation at which it was to be maintained, a managing committee purchasing coffee as the market might demand on account of the three states concerned. The act embodying this into law passed the congresses of the states and of the national government of Brazil in August, 1906. In order to carry out this scheme, the government of Sao Paulo floated a loan which was guaranteed and added to by the federal government at Rio de Janeiro. This loan was guaranteed and paid by a tax on every bag of coffee shipped. The three contracting states bound themselves to maintain a minimum price per bag and to raise this price gradually,



MR. BALFOUR AS HE LOOKED LAST MONTH

(The opposition leader made a noteworthy address last month on Britain's social problems and her foreign relations, particularly with Germany)

to a stated maximum, after the first year. They also agreed to restrict or discourage by a discriminating tax the exportation of inferior grades; to impose a surtax on all coffee exported, such tax to be increased or decreased according to the condition of the foreign market. Other items of the agreement had to do with the limiting of the acreage planted and the disposition of the proceeds and regulation of the expenditures of the loan. In brief, the valorization scheme was intended to give the allied coffee planters of Brazil, with the powerful backing of their central government, unlimited control over the production, distribution and price of coffee. Producing, as these states do, more than 80 per cent. of the world's supply of a commodity which does not fluctuate in its consumption, it has been possible to accomplish the object sought.

*Is There a
"Coffee
Trust"?*

This control cannot be broken until Porto Rico, Venezuela, Mexico, Hawaii and other coffee-growing countries of the world are able to influence the market by the crop from their new trees, which take from three to four years to bear. Even when they come to maturity, however, the Brazilian states may remove restrictions from their planters and again flood the market with coffee at a price with which no other country could hope to compete. It would seem as though, owing to its favorable position as a coffee producer, Brazil would absolutely control, for years to come, the coffee business of the world. A large section of the loan necessary to maintain the valorization scheme was floated in this country through American bankers. Last month a consignment of coffee belonging to the state of Sao Paulo was held in a Brooklyn warehouse to influence the price. Attorney-General Wickersham instituted proceedings under the provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust law, to force this coffee into the market. The Federal Circuit Court, however, denied the government's application. There was a flurry of excitement reflected in the newspapers on May 27 after the remarks of Senhor Da Gama, the Brazilian Ambassador, at a public dinner, declaring that this was a matter of purely Brazilian concern in which neither the United States Department of State nor of Justice had any right to interfere. It is important here to note the fact that the United States is the largest consumer of coffee in the world, using more than a third of the annual crop. The price of coffee has advanced steadily within the past decade, and during the year, the consumer has begun to feel the pinch of the advance in cost.

*Alert
British
Labor*

The strike of nearly 200,000 dock workers in England, which began last month, with the general object of securing recognition for the transport workers' union, very soon reached the stage, according to keen observers of British labor conditions, at which nothing will satisfy the men but the passage by Parliament of another minimum wage law, this time for their own craft. British labor conditions are, at present, more chaotic than those in any other of the great industrial nations of the world. The British workman does not respond quickly to revolutionary ideas. He has, during the past decade, however, been developing rapidly from an over-individualized, almost helpless unit, into a conscious part of a class, with an ever-increasing sense of

solidarity. A keen and illuminating editorial in a recent issue of the London *Daily Chronicle*, which is very fair in its attitude toward labor questions, sketches the situation so accurately and comprehensively that we quote part of it here:

There can be no doubt that they [the British workmen] are examining the whole structure of our competitive system with a more critical and a more discerning eye than ever before. Their critical faculties have been stimulated by the disappearance—consequent on the development of the limited liability companies—of the old human relationship between master and workman which so often mitigated the rigors of the industrial system. The wage-earner is now up against capital in a coldly impersonal and therefore a more callous form. Half the social and industrial problems that confront us to-day have been bequeathed to us as a *damnosus hereditas* by the unbridled individualism of the nineteenth century. Collectivism has been called in to repair the mischief wrought in the long, smug, self-complacent reign of *Laissez-faire*. Free education, municipal ownership of monopoly services, like water, gas, electricity and trams, workmen's compensation, old-age pensions, state-aided insurance against illness and unemployment, minimum wage acts—these mark stages on the line of new advance. We may have to move forward still more boldly on the same road. Society must adjust its machinery and methods to the needs of an industrial democracy whose intelligence has been sharpened by education and whose standards of comfort have risen. How to do that is the problem which is now being investigated by a committee of the cabinet presided over by Mr. Lloyd George. We believe that the claims of labor to more leisure and larger opportunity can be met without inflicting injury on any class. Righteous treatment of labor means not a subtraction from but an addition to national wealth. It means also security to property and added strength to the state.

*Political
Strikes in
Europe*

The so-called strikes which have taken place in Belgium and in Hungary so frequently during the past year are not fundamentally labor demonstrations. They are revolutionary movements. If they can be called strikes at all, they are political strikes,—organized, violent protests of the masses of the people against a form of government which gives more political power to one class of its citizens than to the others. Both Belgium and Hungary have the plural voting system. The only difference is that every man in Belgium has at least one vote. In Hungary, on the other hand, there is a property qualification,—a low one, it is true,—on an income varying with occupation, for the right of franchise. In both cases the franchise question is complicated by racial and language animosities. In Belgium the French and Flemish languages, with an increasing German influence, contend for the predominance. In Hungary

the Magyars, themselves in a minority, are by ability and organization able to dominate with their language and institutions the various subject peoples. Finally, in Belgium there is the radical political and social difference between clericals, anti-clericals, and Socialists, and in both countries these warring elements are factors in the popular struggle against uneven and illogical voting systems.

*Electoral
Reform in
Belgium*

For more than a year the subject of electoral reform has been violently debated in the Belgian Chamber of Representatives. The electoral system in King Albert's kingdom has no unity. Proportional representation has been in force in the elections during the past decade, but in the communal elections the system of absolute majorities still obtains, as well as the system of plural votes. It is claimed that the Clerical party has profited by the inconsistent voting system, and therefore is opposed to reform. A Parliamentary Commission, appointed a year or so ago, brought forward a measure which reorganized the communal and provincial elections on the same basis as those for the Parliament. The Clerical ministry then in power was opposed by the Liberals and Socialists, who coming together on this franchise question, as also upon the question of government schools, formed an alliance and proclaimed a definite program. Their chief demand was the immediate enactment into law of the electoral reform measure submitted by the Parliamentary Commission. The ministry put off consideration of this until the municipal elections of October last, when in Brussels and several other large cities all the Liberal-Socialist candidates were elected at the expense of the government.

*The School
and the
Church*

Meanwhile, the government had begun the consideration of a measure providing for the subsidizing of clerical schools. The Clerical party aims to place the church schools on the same financial footing as the public schools, the necessary funds being provided by the communes, the provinces and the state. The opposition of the Liberal and Socialist groups became exceedingly bitter, and even some of the government supporters were alienated by the "exceptional measures" which were used to push the bill through the Chamber. The opposition press urged that church schools should be paid for by the church, and not by the government. A deadlock resulted, and the budget has not yet been adopted. At

this juncture the King intervened and asked Premier Schollaert to consent to the postponement of the school question in order that the budget might be passed. M. Schollaert, however, was so committed to this school policy that he resigned rather than consent to the postponement suggested. A new ministry was formed under Baron de Broqueville, the former Minister of Railways, who is the present Premier. Following upon great demonstrations and processions participated in by more than 200,000 people in the larger cities, as the protest against the government's educational policy, the Premier announced that another plan would be considered. This was the situation when the general elections were held on June 2.

*The
Belgian
Elections*

The result of the balloting showed that the new chamber will contain 101 Clericals, 44 Liberals, 39 Socialists and 2 Democrats, a Clerical majority of 16 over the opposition coalition. The Clerical victory was immediately followed by rioting all over the country. Demonstrations in various cities took on almost a revolutionary character. Many persons were killed and wounded, and the military was called out to restore order, the soldiers, however, in many cases, making common cause with the enraged populace. The leaders and press of the opposition to the victorious Clerical government declare that the disorder has been due to fraud at the polls and the system of plural voting. Every Belgian citizen over twenty-five years of age has one vote. Heads of families of thirty-five years and paying a certain house tax have an additional vote, a privilege granted to twenty-five-year old citizens owning property of a certain value. Two supplementary votes are given to citizens of over twenty-five who have certain scholastic qualifications or who have attained certain professional eminence. The Socialists contend that this greatly strengthens the Conservative or Clerical forces at the expense of the great masses of the people in the great manufacturing centers. They are claiming that adult manhood suffrage is the only cure for Belgian industrial ills. Meanwhile the race and language questions have again come to the fore. The Walloon provinces, the language of which is French, have begun to clamor for annexation to the republic. The Flemings, on the other hand, remain loyal to the Brussels government. It is interesting to note the fact that at the elections last month the Belgian women voted in large numbers. In

the capital, Brussels, they cast more than one-third of the votes, and a number of them were elected to office. Even the Clerical journals, notably the *Handlesblad* of Antwerp, praise "the new women electors, who," says this journal, "have disarmed all critics, and voted as if it were the most natural thing in the world."

*Electoral Incon-
sistencies in
Hungary*

Hardly had the new Hungarian cabinet, with Dr. George Lukacs as Premier, been formed last month than a number of serious riots broke out in Budapest, resulting in more serious disorder and loss of life and property than in any such demonstration in Hungary since the revolution of 1848. The immediate occasion of the outburst was the election of Count Koloman Tisza to the presidency of the Diet. Count Tisza is one of the bitterest opponents of the extension of the franchise in Hungary. Not only are the restrictions on the suffrage narrow, but they are aggravated by the system of the distribution of seats in the lower house of the Hungarian Parliament, which increases the power of the upper class and of employers of labor. It is against these privileges that the present agitation has been primarily aimed. Universal suffrage, with a fair distribution of seats, would be likely to curb the power of the Magyars, already, as we have said, in the minority in their own land. The displacement of the Magyars from the overlordship of Hungary, however, might work grave changes in the entire structure of the Dual Monarchy.

*And
Other
Complications*

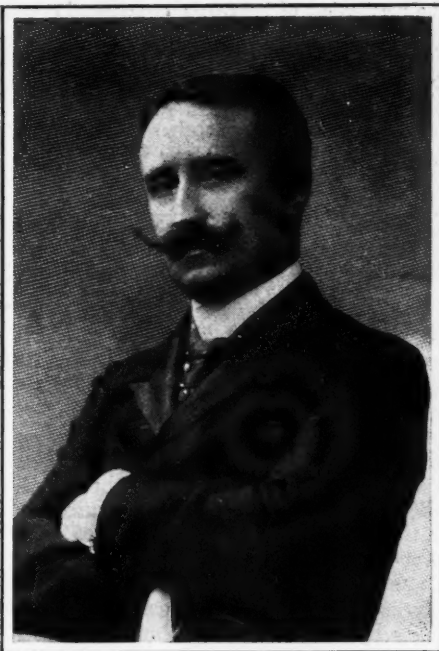
After the first riots several members of the opposition arose in the Diet and bitterly criticized the government. Violent scenes ensued, and these members were expelled. On June 7 the climax of the disorders was reached, when one of the opposition members fired three shots from a revolver at Count Tisza, and then killed himself. Meanwhile the Hungarian Socialist Union had been conducting a strike for bettering conditions of labor. Hungary has made very rapid progress, during recent years, in industry, and the Hungarian labor unions have been making great strides in wealth and numbers. The Social Democratic party, which is largely made up of the laboring class and their sympathizers, is openly anti-military in spirit. The magnates, on the other hand, are strongly imbued with the military idea. They are proud of the Hungarian army, are constantly demanding the use of their lan-

guage on a par with German, and their leaders are known to be anxious to join in the work of expansion to which the Dual Monarchy became committed two years ago when Baron Ahrenthal brought about the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The issue, therefore, in Hungary is complicated. It is universal suffrage, anti-militarism, and the advancement of labor against the Magyar predominance, antiquated, unfair electoral methods and special privilege for the employer class.

*France's
Task in
Morocco*

The task of France in Morocco seems to present difficulties without end. Reports come continually of revolts and counter revolts at Fez, with rumors, more or less well founded, of a "holy war" against the infidel, largely incited, it may be, by lack of dramatic success on the part of the Italians against the Arabs in Tripoli. Much progress has been made in the negotiations with Spain over the limits of the Spanish "sphere." Meanwhile, an excellent result of the French occupation will be the new map of that vast region which we know as Morocco, but which is made up of such diversified land under so many different scattered tribes. This part of Africa, which is nearest to Europe, is less known and more inadequately charted than most of the regions in the center of the Dark Continent. The French have already mapped Algeria and Tunis on the scale of about a mile to the inch. The Italians have mapped that part of Tripolitania which they control on the same scale. It will not be long before those parts of North Africa that have lagged most behind the rest of the world will become known geographically and climatically. The incorporation of Morocco within France's African empire receives the support of practically all political parties at home. It is part of the public creed of M. Paul Eugène Louis Deschanel, recently elected to succeed the late Henri Brisson as President of the Chamber of Deputies. M. Deschanel, who is a member of the Academy, a famous orator, and a writer on political and social questions, is now in the position which theoretically gives him the best chance to become president of the republic at the election which will be held in January.

Every now and then some clever journalist discovers documentary and other proof of the inner workings of the great game of international politics, a "find" which may cast a vivid light upon more than one world event the under-



PAUL DESCHANEL, RECENTLY ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH SENATE, AND NOW REGARDED AS THE MOST LIKELY CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE REPUBLIC

lying causes of which had not been suspected by the general public. Such, for example, was the publication, some months ago, as recorded in these pages for March, of the "deal" which ex-King Manuel, of Portugal, attempted to carry out with some of his brother monarchs to head off the republic, by soliciting foreign aid, in return for which he was to turn over generous sections of Portugal's colonial empire. Even more widespread in its ramifications and more significant in its revelations is the plot revealed by a modest little pamphlet recently issued by the *Courrier Européen*, the wide-awake and usually well informed Parisian journal. This pamphlet is entitled "The Secret Diplomacy Under the Third Republic 1910-1911," and subtitled "From the Quay d'Orsay to the Criminal Court." It is a remarkable collection of political documents, the publication of which has evoked a vast deal of discussion, and it can now be seen to have had much to do with the break up of the Caillaux Ministry. In the introduction to the collection which is written by M. Charles Paix-Seailles, the well-known French journalist, the significance of the revelation is pointed out in these words:

The mechanism of international politics in our day obeys the action of springs about which one may have suspicions, but of which one has rarely the opportunity to catch a glimpse of the secret gear. The people hear the principles discussed; they know nothing of the realities. They divine, doubtless, the rôle of the financiers and the press. Certain indiscretions, the mutual accusations of rival groups, reveal occasionally the hidden undercurrents of official acts. Rarely is it permitted to follow from one end to the other the genesis of those great international affairs in which are intermingled the interests of peoples and those of some particular privileged persons.

*Subterranean
Politics*

The immediate subject of this collection of documents, which was first brought to light by M. André Tardieu, foreign editor of the *Paris Temps*, and a high official of the ministry of the interior, is the project of a railway from Homs, a small town on the Damascus-Hedjaz Railway to Bagdad, intended to bring the Mediterranean into direct communication with the Persian Gulf from the port of Tripoli, not the country for which Italy is fighting, but a small seaport town on the Syrian coast of Turkey. This enterprise was originated, it seems, by a clever but impecunious member of the Young Turk party at Constantinople. With the assistance of a Jewish adventurer he managed to raise about \$100,000 from a group of business men for preliminary expenses. They then attempted to enlist the assistance of M. Tardieu in order to bring about the construction of this railway with the help of British and French capital. They hoped to secure the support of the British and French Foreign Offices by giving as their object the "holding off" of the building of the German-Turkish line from Anatolia via the Tigris valley to Bagdad, and thence to the Persian Gulf.

*"Backdoor
Negotiations"*

With this for a foundation, a story is built up that reads like a fairy tale, and includes frequent mention of some of the most noted diplomats, financiers, and business men of all Europe. Among them are M. Pichon, formerly French Minister of Foreign Affairs; Sir Edward Grey, now British Foreign Minister; Sir Ernest Cassell, director of the National Bank of Constantinople, at one time advisor to the late King Edward VII; Lord Brassey; Sir Charles Hardinge, now Viceroy of India; the French ambassadors at London and Constantinople, M. Bompard, and M. Paul Cambon; besides several noted railway engineers and contractors. Page after page is given up to the reproduction of letters that passed between these exalted personages in the discussion as to whether the line should be built entirely

under French or British auspices or both combined; also as to the personnel of the company and the efforts to squeeze financial guarantees from the Turkish government; and, finally, as to the best method of "creating disputes that could eventually be made to serve as pretexts for intervention by the two governments." It was finally agreed that 60 per cent. should be built under French auspices and 40 under British. Then, for some unexplained reason, the British Foreign Office evinced a "disinclination to commit itself irrevocably to a course that might involve serious consequences." At this point the French promoters began "backdoor negotiations" with Berlin. Almost immediately afterward came the revelations (in the early part of last year) of the so-called "Potsdam Agreement" between the German and Russian governments regarding the proposed connection between the Anatolia-Bagdad Railway and the Russian railway system about to be built. Then the whole scheme collapsed.

*Stealing
State
Documents*

The final act was almost tragic. Articles appearing in the *Paris Temps* and other papers with which M. Tardieu was connected and used by him in favor of the scheme by which he and others expected to realize millions and bring about great political results, were so manifestly based on information surreptitiously obtained, that the French and Turkish Foreign Offices instituted inquiries. These finally led to the arrest of a number of officials attached to the French Foreign Office for abstraction of numerous documents relative to eastern matters, and particularly to the Homs-Bagdad Railway. This was on March 31, 1911. About the same time the Turkish promoter (Youssouf Said) was arrested at Constantinople. The Frenchmen were charged with having sold to two English collectors seventy volumes containing Turkish official documents, after having vainly tried to pass them off on the French and British Foreign Offices. One conspirator, in a written confession, acknowledged to having taken twenty documents, notably a résumé of the Russo-German Convention concluded at Potsdam, and information on the confidential notes exchanged between M. Pichon and the French Ambassador at Constantinople.

*The
Lessons
Therefrom*

Some of those who were involved in the use of the stolen documents escaped judicial investigation, but others were imprisoned for various terms. At the conclusion of the col-

lection of documents, allusion is made to the fact that hardly had the case against the purloiners of state documents closed than another opened in connection with the Franco-German Congo settlement in which M. Pichon and M. Tardieu are involved and which led to the Agadir incident. It is known as the N'Goko-Sangha scandal and will form the subject of another issue in the near future from the press of the *Courrier Européen*. This case is perhaps even more important than the Homs-Bagdad, one which never emerged from the sphere of diplomacy. N'Goko-Sangha with its Agadir sequel brought France and Germany to the verge of war and with it all Europe. The importance of these incidents, of course, lies chiefly in the effect they and the debates in the French Chamber to which they give rise, have on the mind of the French people. They are coming to understand more clearly year by year that the wars of the past in which so much life was sacrificed, and that left a crushing burden of debt which they still have to carry, were made for the benefit of a few who were not even French. A few more cases such as the Homs-Bagdad and the N'Goko-Sangha scandals will do more to promote anti-militarism in France than anything else, and in the long run will undoubtedly end the power of those international patriots who profit by rousing national prejudices, and compel governments to combine in the future for the development of civilization for the masses of humanity by peace and not, as in the past, for the benefit of great financial combinations by war.

*The New
Woman of
the East*

It is probable that if given time the new régime in China will justify itself. During recent weeks, however, there have been signs that a reactionary movement is gaining strength. The financial question is a thorny one. The original loan arranged for by financial representatives of the six powers (the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia and Japan) has failed, owing to conditions demanded by Russia and, it is reported, concurred in by Japan. These conditions refer chiefly to what Russia terms her special interests in Manchuria and Mongolia. Administratively the new government is apparently doing well. The franchise law, recently passed, demands educational qualification, but concedes the right of voting to both men and women. We give on another page this month an article presenting a review of the progress made by the far Eastern woman in India, as well as in Japan and China, during

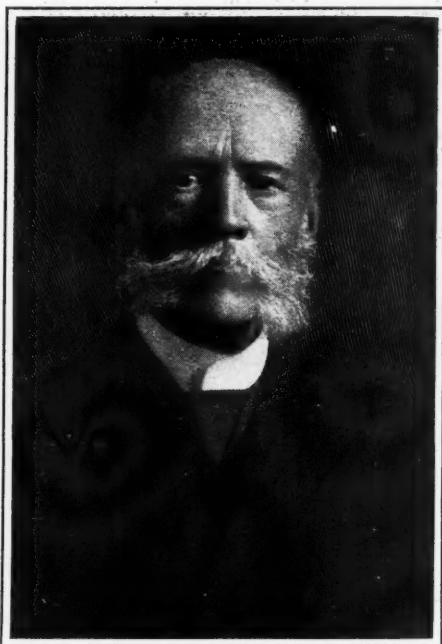
recent years, which will surprise most Western readers. Since the establishment of the Republic of China we learn that girls are crowding into the schools in such numbers that the room is already exhausted, and new buildings are constantly being erected for educational purposes.

*New
Australian
Capital*

The new federal capital of the Australian Commonwealth will be built upon designs drawn up by a young American architect, Walter B. Griffin, of Chicago, to whom has been awarded the first prize (\$8750) in the international competition for the site design. The Australian constitution, adopted when the Commonwealth was proclaimed on the first day of the present century, provided that the seat of the Federal Government, temporarily located at Melbourne, should be determined within ten years. The State of New South Wales offered a tract between Melbourne and Sydney in the district known as Yass-Canberra, and in 1910 this was accepted by the Federal Parliament. Immediately the international contest for the plans of the capital was opened, and Mr. Griffin's design was accounted the best. It provides for a capital city to cover an area of twenty-five square miles and for an immediate population of 75,000, with ample provisions for growth. The city is planned upon a radial type with three principal centers from which boulevards and streets radiate. The plan is complete in every detail and covers all the city will ever need, street railway systems, steam railway lines, business and manufacturing districts.

*The
Australian
Census*

The figures of the Australian census, taken in April, are now available, and are causing some disquietude to the people of the Commonwealth. In a territory of 3,000,000 square miles there is now not quite four and a half million of persons (4,455,005) or slightly less than the population of the city of New York. There has been only a slight increase in the past decade. Meanwhile, the vast empty spaces in the west and north are constant temptations to the yellow races of Asia crowded now to the point of starvation. At the same time Australian labor conditions are uncertain. The new transcontinental railway, which the Commonwealth government is undertaking, offers an opportunity for filling up the waste places with immigrants. But the labor ministry at Melbourne is apparently not anxious to add to the popu-



REV. DR. JAMES M. BUCKLEY, WHO LAST MONTH RETIRED FROM THE EDITORSHIP OF THE "CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE," AFTER THIRTY-TWO YEARS OF SERVICE

lation of the commonwealth unless the newcomers are of its own political faith.

Under the editorship of Dr. James M. Buckley, the *Christian Advocate* has had no superior as a denominational journal. It has been an efficient, dignified organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but it has been, at the same time, an all round, well conducted weekly newspaper, always interesting to its readers whether of that particular denominational faith or outside of it. Late in May, at the General Conference of the Methodist Church, in Minneapolis, Dr. Buckley announced his resignation as editor of the *Advocate*, a position he had held since 1880. James M. Buckley has been one of the best known figures of American Methodism for a generation. He has been a pastor and a writer of wide experience, wielding a forceful pen and commenting trenchantly and cogently upon contemporary history, as it is being

made inside and outside of the church, for more than thirty years. Dr. Buckley, who is a native of New Jersey, retires from active editorial work in his seventy-sixth year. He will not, however, he avers, retire from "as active participation as may be in the work of the church." He is succeeded in the editorship of the *Advocate* by Dr. George Peck Eckman. In passing here, we call our readers' attention to the article which we print on another page this month on the careers of the new Methodist Bishops, chosen at the conference at which Dr. Buckley announced his retirement from active editorial work.

*Interesting
Little
Royalties*

The rising generation of European royalty is, generally speaking, very modern, and if the paradox be permitted, very democratic. Take, for example, the heirs to the thrones of four of the continental countries which have been prominently in the eyes of the world during the past few weeks. The little Prince of Piedmont and heir-apparent to the Italian throne—Umberto Nicola Tommaso Giovanni Maria, to give him his full name—who will soon attain his eighth birthday, is a healthy, normal lad, and said to be enthusiastically patriotic over the war his country is waging with Turkey. Little Princess Juliana (Louise Emma Marie Wilhelmina), just passed three, is immensely popular with the Dutch people. That she has a mind of her own as well as a sweet little face is evident from the reports quoted in the English newspapers to the effect that now and then she has to be physically corrected. The new Queen of Denmark, who was Princess Alexandrine of Mecklenburg, has a reputation of being a model mother of two very normal boys. The eldest, Prince Christian Frederick, was thirteen years old in March, his brother, Knud, is just twelve. The disturbed state of politics in Belgium, to which we refer in another paragraph this month, has no reference to the personalities of the reigning family, who are very popular with the Belgians of all tongues and creeds. Queen Elizabeth is the mother of three children, Prince Leopold, in his eleventh year, Prince Charles, in his ninth, and the Princess Marie, just turned six. The pictures on the opposite page show the faces of these little royalties as they look to-day.



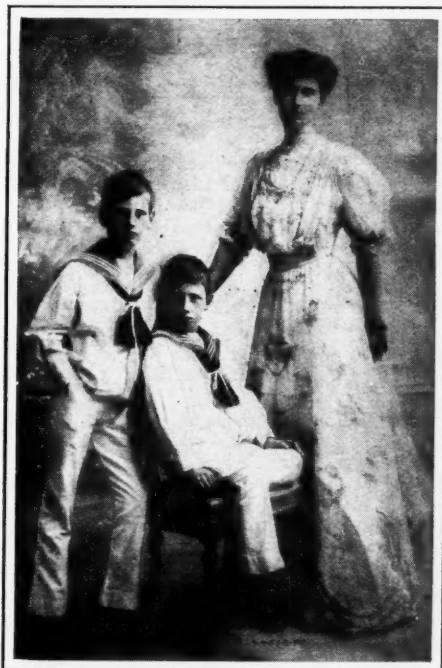


PRINCE UMBERTO OF ITALY, WITH HIS FATHER IN
THE GARDENS OF THE PALACE AT ROME



PRINCESS JULIANA OF HOLLAND IN HER OWN FLOWER
GARDEN OF THE ROYAL PALACE, HET LOO

(married)
1937



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York
THE NEW QUEEN OF DENMARK AND HER TWO BOYS,
CHRISTIAN AND KNUD

Frederik



KING AND QUEEN OF THE BELGIANS WITH THEIR
SONS AND THEIR LITTLE DAUGHTER



A FEW OF THE NOTABLES AT THE CHICAGO CONVENTION

From the Commercial Appeal (Memphis)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From May 17 to June 11, 1912)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

May 17.—The Senate discusses the Steel bill.

May 18.—The House confers additional powers on the committee investigating the Money Trust.

May 20.—The Senate committee investigating the election of Mr. Lorimer (Rep., Ill.), by vote of 5 to 3, reports that no evidence had been submitted to show that the election was brought about by corruption.

May 22.—In the Senate, Mr. Smoot (Rep., Utah) concludes a four-day speech against the Metal bill and in defense of the Payne-Aldrich tariff. . . . The House passes a measure placing the so-called Friar Lands under the jurisdiction of the Philippine Government.

May 23.—The House passes the Panama Canal bill, admitting American-owned ships free, fixing a toll of \$1.25 per net registered ton on foreign ships, and debarring vessels owned directly or indirectly by railroads.

May 27.—The conference report on the Army bill is presented in both Houses, the clause affecting Major-General Wood being retained. . . . The House adopts an amendment to the Naval appropriation bill, applying the eight-hour law to the mining of coal used by the navy.

May 28.—In the Senate, the special committee which investigated the causes leading to the wreck of the *Titanic* makes its report; a resolution is passed, conferring the thanks of Congress upon the officers and crew of the *Carpathia* for rescuing the survivors. . . . The House passes the Naval appropriation bill (\$119,000,000) without provision for new battleships.

May 29.—The Senate adopts, as an amendment to the Steel bill, a provision repealing the Canadian reciprocity measure and reducing the duty on print paper to \$2 a ton. . . . In the House, Mr. Diefenderfer (Dem., Pa.) introduces a resolution calling for a thorough investigation of the anthracite coal trade.

May 30.—The Senate passes the House Steel bill, with the amendment repealing the Canadian reciprocity act.

May 31.—The Senate passes the House bill applying an eight-hour day to all contract work performed for the government; the conference

report upon the Agricultural appropriation bill is rejected.

June 1.—In the Senate, the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation bill is reported from committee, with the radical provisions of the House eliminated.

June 4.—In the Senate, the fight against Mr. Lorimer (Rep., Ill.) is begun by Mr. Kern (Dem., Ind.). . . . In the House, the Tariff Board is attacked by Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee.

June 7.—The House votes not to appropriate money for the defense of the Tariff Board.

June 8.—In the Senate, Mr. Kern (Dem., Ind.) concludes his speech on the Lorimer case; July 6 is fixed as the date for final action. . . . In the House, the resolution directing an investigation of anthracite coal prices and wages is unanimously reported from committee.

June 10.—The Senate adopts the conference report on the Army appropriation bill, which legislates General Wood out of office as Chief of Staff.

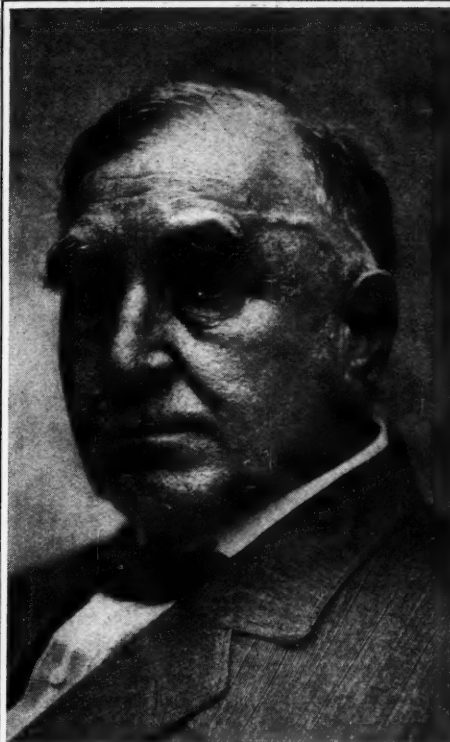
June 11.—The Senate votes to retain in the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation bill the provision abolishing the Commerce Court.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN

May 17.—The Socialist National Convention, at Indianapolis, nominates Eugene Victor Debs, of Indiana, for President, and Emil Seidel, of Wisconsin, for Vice-President.

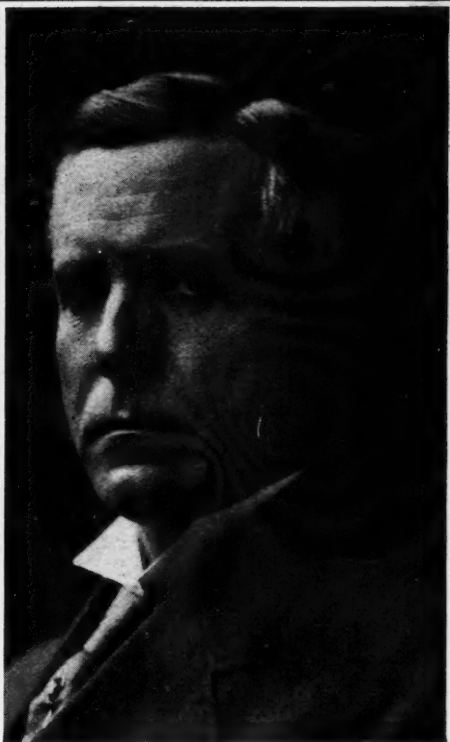
May 18.—A suit is brought by the United States District Attorney at New York to break up the alleged Coffee Trust.

May 21.—In the Ohio Presidential preference primary, Colonel Roosevelt defeats President Taft by more than 30,000 votes, electing thirty-four of the district delegates; Governor Harmon carries the Democratic contest. . . . The Louisiana Legislature elects Representatives Joseph E. Ransdell (Dem.) and Robert F. Broussard (Dem.) to the United States Senate for the terms beginning 1913 and 1915, respectively. . . . Henry J. Arnold is elected mayor of Denver on the Citizens' ticket. . . . United States Senator W. Murray Crane (Rep., Mass.) announces that he will not be a candidate for reelection.



HON. JOHN W. WESTCOTT OF NEW JERSEY

(The Democratic orator chosen to nominate Woodrow Wilson at Baltimore)



SENATOR JAMES A. REED OF MISSOURI

(Who was selected to make the speech nominating Champ Clark, of his State, at Baltimore)

May 22.—A conference committee of the Senate and House adopts a provision in the Army appropriation bill which would make Major-General Wood ineligible as Chief of Staff.

May 24.—The Massachusetts Senate passes a bill establishing a minimum wage for women and minors in manufacturing mercantile establishments. . . . The defendants in the government's suit against the alleged Wall Paper Trust, at Chicago, are acquitted of the charge of conspiracy in restraint of trade.

May 28.—Colonel Roosevelt carries the New Jersey Presidential primary by 16,000 votes over President Taft; Governor Wilson wins in the Democratic contest. . . . The Ohio Constitutional Convention adopts a proposal granting the suffrage to women.

May 31.—The twenty-eight New Jersey delegates to the Republican National Convention select Borden D. Whiting as national committeeman and agree to vote—first, last, and always—for Mr. Roosevelt.

June 1.—The Ohio Constitutional Convention adjourns, having prepared forty-two constitutional amendments (see page 83).

June 3.—The Ohio State Republican Convention is controlled by the Taft forces, although Walter F. Brown, the Roosevelt leader, is reelected chairman of the State Central Committee. . . . The

Senate Committee on Naval Affairs restores to the appropriation bill the provision for two new battle-ships, which had been dropped by the House Democrats. . . . President Taft urges that the Republican National Committee dispose of all contests in open sessions.

June 4.—In the South Dakota Presidential primary, Colonel Roosevelt received 33,600 votes, Senator La Follette 17,900, and President Taft 10,100. . . . The Ohio Republican Convention elects six Taft men as delegates-at-large to the national convention.

June 6.—The Republican National Committee meets in Chicago, elects Victor Rosewater, of Nebraska, chairman, and decides to admit press representatives to hearings of contested delegations.

June 7.—Twenty-four contested seats in the Republican National Convention are decided in favor of President Taft. . . . The United States Supreme Court unanimously reverses the Commerce Court in several cases, and declares that that court must not substitute itself for the Interstate Commerce Commission.

June 8.—The second day's hearings of the cases of contested delegations to the Republican National Convention result in the seating of forty-eight Taft delegates.

June 10.—The Republican National Committee decides all the Indiana contested seats in favor of



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

HON. WILLIAM FLINN OF PENNSYLVANIA, ONE OF
THE ROOSEVELT LEADERS AT CHICAGO

the Taft men. . . . The United States Supreme Court adjourns for the summer.

June 11.—The contests for Kentucky's delegation to the Republican National Convention are decided in favor of the Taft men, with the exception of one seat. . . . Governor Oddie of Nevada appoints George Wingfield to succeed the late United States Senator Nixon.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN

May 18.—The draft of the constitution of the Chinese Republic, which will be submitted to the National Assembly, is made public at Peking. . . . The Japanese elections result in a return of the Seiyukai government.

May 20.—It is reported at Havana that an outbreak of negroes is imminent throughout Cuba, because of discontent in the matter of political rewards. . . . The Mexican rebels are forced to evacuate the town of Escalon. . . . The governor of Sin-Kiang province, China, is murdered by Mohammedan reactionaries.

May 21.—The German Reichstag passes the bills increasing the army and navy. . . . A new ministry (coalition) is formed in Chile. . . . The \$41,000,000 Paris bond issue is oversubscribed eighty times.

May 22.—During the final session of the German Reichstag, the Emperor is severely criticized by the Social Democratic leader.

May 23.—As a protest against the election of Count Tisza as president of the lower House in Hungary, a general Socialist strike is called, with serious rioting and loss of life in Budapest. . . . Paul Deschanel is elected president of the French Chamber of Deputies. . . . Tang Shao-yi, Premier of China, resigns; the budget shows a deficit of \$200,000,000. . . . The Mexican insurgents are decisively defeated in a battle near Rellano.

May 24.—The negro uprising in Cuba assumes serious proportions.

May 26.—The Presidential election in Peru is declared off because of rioting. . . . A large force of Moroccan tribesmen attack the French garrison at Fez.

May 28.—Efforts are made by government officials to settle the dock strike in London.

May 29.—President Gomez issues a proclamation belittling the Cuban insurrection. . . . An attempt is made to blow up with dynamite the House of Parliament at Budapest.

May 30.—Several skirmishes are reported between the Cuban insurgents and the government forces.

June 2.—The parliamentary elections in Belgium result in an increased majority for the Clerical party. . . . President Gomez requests the Cuban Congress to suspend constitutional guaranties. . . . It is reported that the Moorish tribesmen have been repulsed from Fez with the loss of six hundred men.

June 4.—Serious political disturbances occur throughout Belgium. . . . Sixty Hungarian Deputies are ejected from Parliament for violence in obstructing the passage of government measures.

June 5.—Count Tisza suspends the sittings of the Hungarian Diet. . . . Chancellor Lloyd-George advocates, in the British House, a conciliation board to settle the dock strike. . . . The Vasconcelles cabinet in Portugal resigns.

June 6.—The rioting continues in Belgium; 100,000 men are reported to be on strike.

June 7.—The Chihuahua legislature in Mexico authorizes the issuance of \$1,000,000 bonds, carrying the guarantee of the state and of General Orozco, to be used in financing the revolution. . . . An attempt is made to assassinate Count Tisza, president of the Hungarian Diet, by an opposition member.

June 8.—A Bosnian student attempts to assassinate the Governor of Croatia, at Agram.

June 9.—Mexican rebels are routed near Torreon by federal cavalry.

June 10.—Col. John E. B. Seely is appointed Secretary of State for War in Great Britain, Viscount Haldane becoming Lord High Chancellor. . . . The Czar of Russia visits Moscow for the first time in nine years.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

May 17.—The Turkish garrison at Rhodes surrenders to the Italian troops after an eight-hour battle.

May 18.—A British cruiser is sent to the island of Ormuz, in the Persian Gulf, which is threatened by a force of Arab tribesmen.

May 20.—The Turkish island of Symi, near Rhodes, is captured by the Italians.



Photograph by The American Press Association, New York

(From left to right: Representatives Brown, W. Va., Neeley, Kan., Byrnes, S. C., Pujo, La. (chairman), Daugherty, Mo., Hayes, Cal., and Heald, Del.)

THE PUJO "MONEY TRUST" COMMISSION IN SESSION IN NEW YORK CITY

May 23.—The situation in Cuba is deemed so acute that two battalions of United States marines are sent to protect American interests.

May 25.—A fleet of nine United States war vessels, with extra marines, is ordered to assemble at Key West for possible service in Cuba. . . . The United States consul-general at Mexico City is warned by Zapata, the revolutionary leader, that he plans to attack the city and that all Americans should leave.

May 27.—President Taft informs the Cuban President that the mobilizing of the fleet at Key West is not a step toward intervention.

May 28.—Seven hundred American marines are landed at Guantanamo, Cuba.

May 31.—Consul Letcher, at Chihuahua, Mexico, is ordered to investigate the reports that Orozco, the revolutionary leader, had threatened American life and property.

June 1.—Americans at El Cobre, Cuba, appeal to the State Department for help, and a gunboat with marines is rushed to their assistance.

June 3.—The German battleship squadron, visiting the United States, is received by President Taft in Hampton Roads.

June 4.—The German Emperor cables to President Taft his thanks for the hearty greeting accorded the German fleet.

June 6.—A convention is signed at Washington which provides a parcels-post arrangement between the United States and Panama.

June 7.—The United States battleships *Ohio* and *Minnesota* arrive at Guantanamo, Cuba.

June 10.—The officers of the German squadron are entertained at a banquet in New York given by Mayor Gaynor.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

May 17.—Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, dean of Brown University, is elected president of Amherst College.

May 18.—The battleship *Texas*, the greatest yet constructed for the United States Navy, is launched

at Newport News. . . . The anthracite mine workers, in convention at Wilkes-Barre, ratify the wage agreement and will return to work. . . . Eight persons are killed and sixty injured in a railroad accident outside the Gare du Nord, Paris.

May 19.—Melville, La., is inundated by the breaking of a levee on the Atchafalaya River, and five hundred persons are made homeless.

May 20.—A new working agreement is signed at Philadelphia between representatives of anthracite miners and operators. . . . The French dirigible *Clement-Bayard III* ascends to a height of more than 9500 feet near Paris.

May 22.—Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, the suffragette leader, and Mr. and Mrs. F. Pethick Lawrence, the editors of *Votes for Women*, are found guilty of conspiracy and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment.

May 23.—A strike is called of all transportation workers throughout Great Britain. . . . The Presbyterian General Assembly, at Louisville, refuses to open the pulpit to women. . . . The twelfth International Congress of Navigation begins at Philadelphia.

May 24.—The strike of transport workers, affecting 100,000 men, begins in London. . . . The last three of the eight new Methodist bishops are elected at the general conference in Minneapolis (see page 42). . . . The Board of Estimate of New York City approves the new subway system. . . . After a serious riot in Budapest, the government induces the manufacturers to take back the locked-out metal workers. . . . Edson J. Chamberlain is chosen president of the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada.

May 27.—Rev. Dr. James M. Buckley retires as editor of the *Christian Advocate*, after thirty-two years of service. . . . Henry B. Bond, of Vermont, is elected president of the Northern Baptist Convention, at Des Moines.

May 29.—A committee representing the survivors of the *Titanic* present a silver loving cup to Captain Rostron, of the *Carpathia*, and medals to every officer and member of the crew. . . . The first meeting of the European section of the

Carnegie Foundation for International Peace ends at Paris. . . . A strike is declared by the street-railway employees of Lisbon.

May 29-30.—Many of the London dock employers and shipowners refuse the government's invitation to a joint conference.

June 1.—The New German military dirigible, *Zeppelin III*, makes her maiden voyage from Friedrichshaven to Hamburg, a distance of 450 miles. . . . M. Robi is killed by the capsizing of his aeroplane at Savigny-sur-Orge, France.

June 2.—The *Zeppelin III* flies without stop from Hamburg to Bremen and back. . . . Two German aviators, Albert Buchtaetter and Lieutenant Stille are killed by a fall in their machine at Bremen.

June 3.—Fire in Stamboul, the Mohammedan section of Constantinople, destroys 2000 houses.

June 6.—Gottlieb Rost, a German aviator, is mortally injured by a fall at Hamburg.

June 7.—The leaders of the London dock strike threaten to call a nation-wide strike unless the employers agree to the men's demands.

June 8.—An imposing monument to Christopher Columbus, in the plaza before the Union Station in Washington, is unveiled by the Italian Ambassador. . . . The French submarine *Vendemiaire* rises under the bows of a battleship during maneuvers off Cherbourg, and sinks, twenty-three lives being lost.

June 9.—A strike of elevated railway employees in Boston necessitates the presence of police on all cars. . . . The German battleship squadron, with its American escort, anchors in the Hudson River off New York City. . . . Two French aviators, Kimmerling and Tonnet, are killed at Mourmelon. . . . The departure of *La France* from Havre for New York is postponed on account of a strike of the crew.

June 10.—A general strike affecting 300,000 transport workers in Great Britain is called. . . . The seamen's strike at Havre grows more serious. . . . The aeroplane race between Berlin and Vienna is won by Helmuth-Hirth; the 330 miles are covered in 395 minutes.

June 11.—Lieut. Leighton W. Hazelhurst, Jr., U. S. A., and Al Welsh, a professional aviator, are killed following an accident to their machine at the army aviation field, College Park, Md.

OBITUARY

May 18.—Brig.-Gen. Paul A. Oliver, U. S. A., retired, 80. . . . James D. Porter, formerly governor of Tennessee and later minister to Chile, 84. . . . Dr. Ferdinand Herff, a noted Texas surgeon, 92.

May 19.—Henry Ware Putnam, one of the founders of the Germanic Museum at Harvard. . . . John Clay Ferriss, founder of the famous Ferriss Nursery in Nashville, 75. . . . Alexander Glowacki ("Boleslaus Prus"), the Polish novelist and publicist, 65.

May 20.—Associate Justice Christopher M. Lee, of the Superior Court of Rhode Island, 57.

May 21.—Sir Julius Charles Wernher, head of the De Beers Diamond Syndicate, 62. . . . David Brainerd Perry, president of Doane College (Nebraska), 73.

May 22.—Count Nicolai Dmitrijevitch von der Osten-Sacken, Russian ambassador to Germany, 81. . . . George H. Peabody, of New York, a writer on art subjects, 81. . . . Valdemar F. Lassoe,

associated with Ericsson in the designing of the *Monitor*, 76.

May 23.—Frank Davis Hill, United States Consul-General at Frankfort-on-Main, Germany, 50. . . . John Wesley Hoyt, formerly territorial governor of Wyoming, 80.

May 24.—Alexander Stewart, a former member of Congress from Wisconsin, 82.

May 25.—Ex-Governor Austin Lane Crothers, of Maryland, 52. . . . Edward E. Kilbourn, inventor of hosiery machines, 81.

May 26.—Jan Blockx, the noted Belgian composer, 61.

May 27.—Matthew Chaloner Durfee Borden, the prominent cotton goods manufacturer, 59. . . . Mrs. Katharine Stark Tyler, formerly professor of music at Syracuse University. . . . Alejandro Lopez de Romana, a former President of Peru.

May 28.—Dr. William McMichael Woodworth, of Harvard University, an authority on zoology, 48.

May 30.—Wilbur Wright, the noted inventor of the aeroplane and the first man to fly in an engine-driven, heavier-than-air machine, 45 (see page 44). . . . Gen. Henry Moore Baker, formerly Congressman from New Hampshire, 71.

June 1.—Daniel Hudson Burnham, the noted architect, 66. . . . P. O'Neill Larkin, of Massachusetts, a well-known Irish Nationalist leader, 68. Major William H. Lambert, of Philadelphia, prominent in insurance circles, and a noted collector of Lincoln relics, 70. . . . Dr. John Arthur Irwin, of New York, a well-known writer on medical subjects, 59.

June 2.—Sidney Thomas Fuller, an expert on railroad engineering, 76. . . . Col. Joseph E. Caven, formerly a prominent newspaper proprietor, 67.

June 3.—Mrs. Margaret Elizabeth Sangster, the noted author and editor, 74. . . . Rt. Rev. John Sheepshanks, formerly Bishop of Norwich (England), 78. . . . Henry S. Dickinson, a prominent paper manufacturer of New England, 49.

June 4.—Gen. Duncan S. Walker, of New Jersey, formerly a well-known newspaper writer. . . . Representative Elbert Hamilton Hubbard, of Iowa, 63. . . . Royal Chapin Taft, formerly governor of Rhode Island, 89.

June 5.—George Stuart Nixon, United States Senator from Nevada, 52. . . . Brig.-Gen. Aquila Wiley, U. S. A., retired, 80. . . . Rev. Dr. Wilson Amos Farnsworth, the oldest missionary of the American Board, 89. . . . Professor Arthur Herbert Merritt, of Trinity College, a leading Greek scholar. . . . Mrs. Mary D. Lowman, the first woman mayor in Kansas, 70.

June 6.—Giulio di Tito Ricordi, the noted Italian music publisher, 72. . . . Judge Thomas John Morris, of the federal District Court of Maryland, 74. . . . Stephen A. Chase, treasurer of the Christian Science Church of America, 73.

June 8.—Rev. Abraham C. Levinson, of Baltimore, a noted Jewish scholar. . . . Capt. Alvin C. Norcross, of Boston, builder of one of the first automobile carriages, 69.

June 9.—Rear-Admiral Benjamin Peffer Lamerton, U. S. N., retired, 68.

June 10.—Miss Sophie B. Wright, the noted charitable worker and educator of New Orleans, 46. . . . Justice William Schofield, of the Superior Court of Massachusetts, 55.

June 11.—Representative Robert C. Wickliffe, of Louisiana, 38.

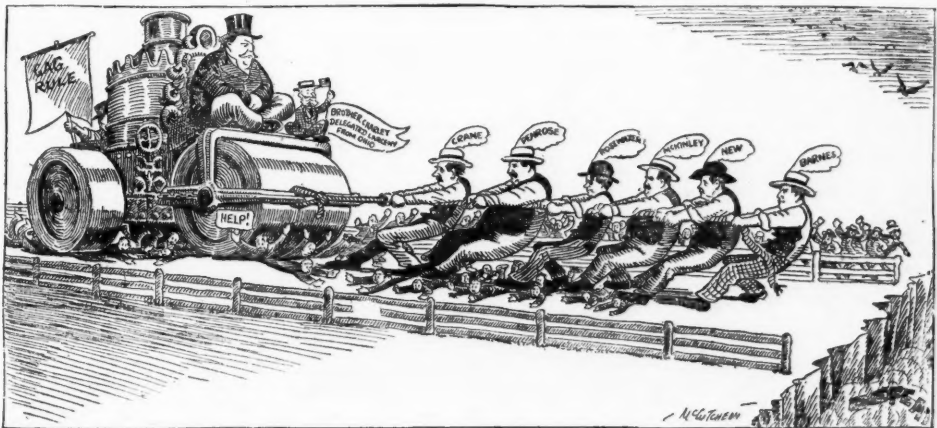
CARTOONS OF THE MONTH



PRESIDENT TAFT: "I AM A PROGRESSIVE!"

From the *Leader* (Cleveland)

ON this page are shown some symbols of present-day politics—the great mogul locomotive of "Progressive Sentiment," the stagecoach of stand-patism, and the delegate-crushing "steam-roller" of the so-called "party leaders."



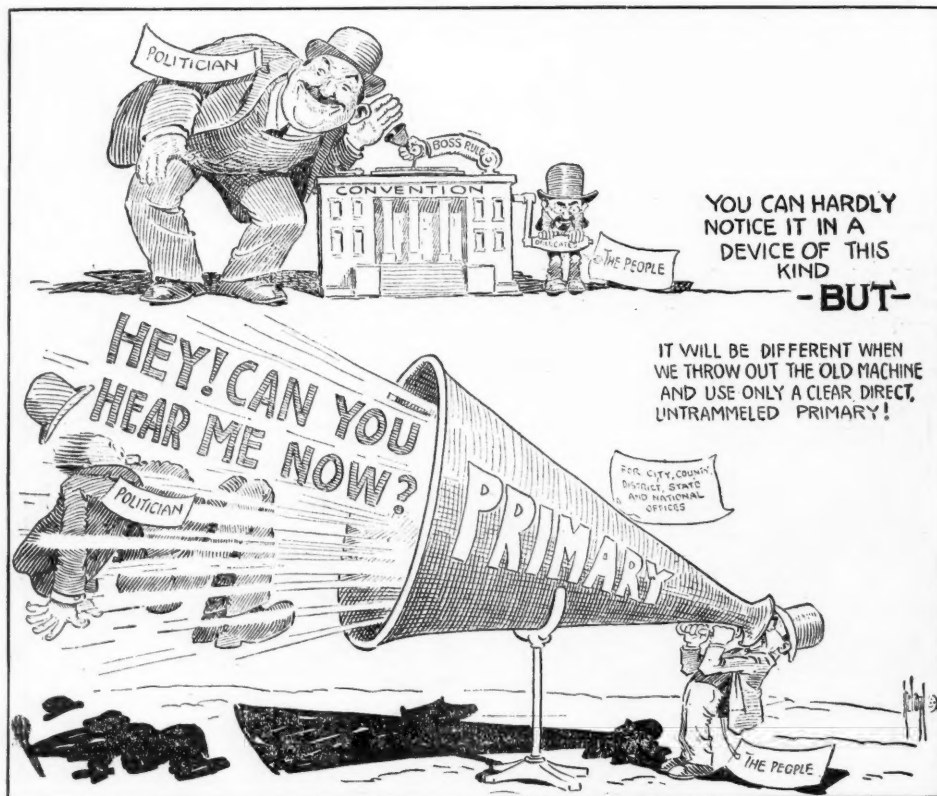
Copyright by John T. McCutcheon

THE JUGGERNAUT
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)



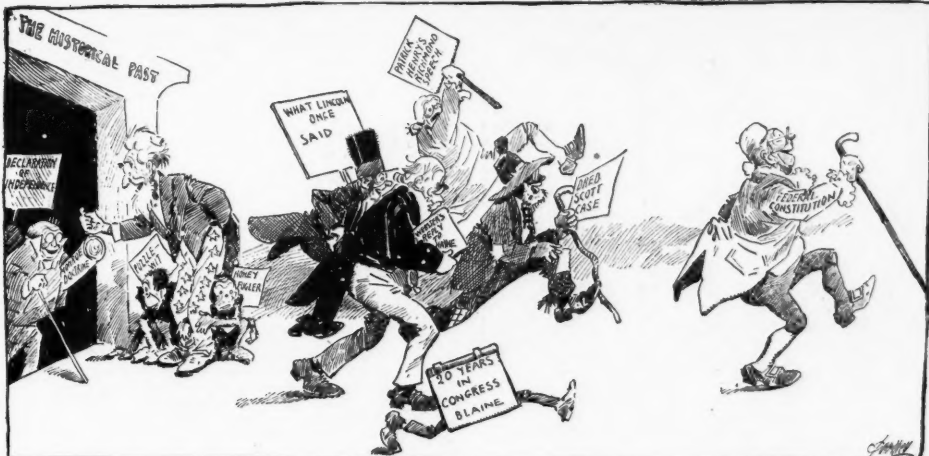
THE OLD ORDER—THE LASH OF THE BOSS

Mr. Barnes, of New York, just the man to manage the Taft delegates at the National Convention!
From the *Associated Newspapers* (New York)



AND THE NEW—THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

From the *Dispatch* (Cleveland)

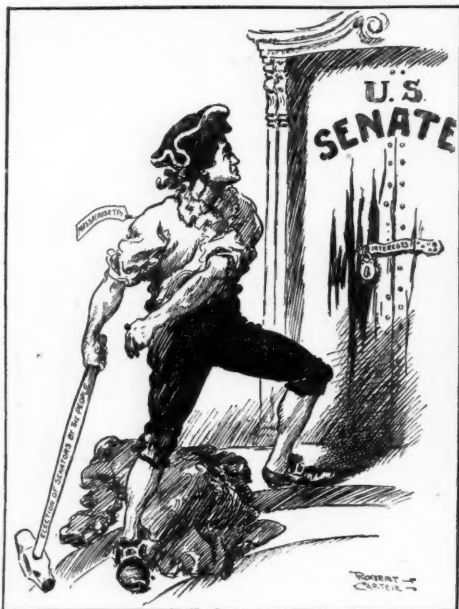


UNCLE SAM: "HURRY UP, ALL YOU FELLOWS THAT WANT TO GET IN ON THIS CAMPAIGN!"
From the Plain Dealer (Cleveland)

The Presidential campaign, which formerly started with the nomination of the candidates at the national conventions, has now, as a matter of fact, been considerably lengthened by the primary campaigns preceding the conventions. So all our old friends shown in the cartoon above—the Constitution, the Declaration, and other ancient and honorable historical documents and episodes—have already been with us for some months, and doubtless will continue to be quoted *ad libitum* during the campaign. In view of our own campaign here in the United States, it is interesting to note the cartoonist's comparison of some of our methods of political controversy with those of other countries.



VARIOUS METHODS OF CONTRADICTING POLITICAL ASPERSIONS
From the Daily Star (Montreal)



MASSACHUSETTS LEADS THE WAY IN RATIFYING DIRECT
ELECTION OF SENATORS
From the Times (Washington)



—OR WAS HE PUSHED?
(Apropos of Senator Crane's announcement that he would
not be a candidate for another term)
From the Globe and Commercial Advertiser (New York)



A PRESIDENTIAL SUGGESTION
UNCLE SAM: "Good idea! Let's do it now."
From the Post-Dispatch (St. Louis)



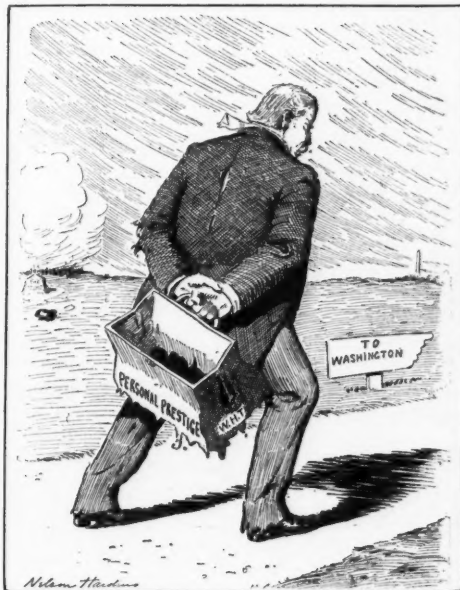
THE WHITE-WASH BUCKET SEEMS TO BE EMPTY
(Referring to Senator Lorimer's impending retirement)
From the Evening Mail (New York)



THE STAMPEDE OF THE STATES IN THE GREAT PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY CONTEST
From the *Saturday Globe* (Utica)

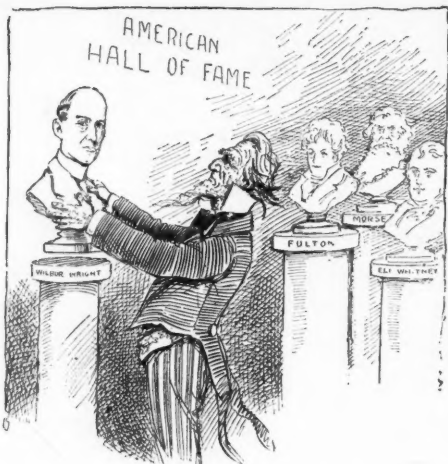


"I HAVE BEEN IN POLITICS FOR THIRTY-THREE YEARS AND I NEVER BEFORE HAVE FELT SUCH UNADULTERATED SATISFACTION IN ANY CAMPAIGN AS IN THIS ONE"—Colonel Roosevelt at Hoboken.
From the *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia)



GOING BACK TO WASHINGTON, A Sadder AND
A Wiser Man
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)

AFTER THE BIG PRIMARY CAMPAIGN



TRIBUTES TO WILBUR WRIGHT

From the *Spokesman-Review* (Spokane)From the *Daily News* (Dayton)

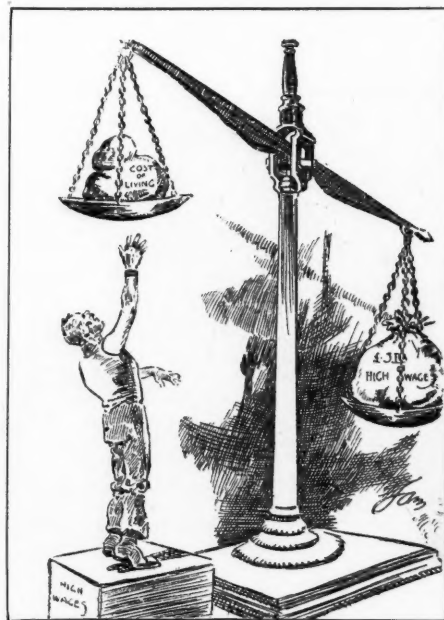
The illness and death last month of Wilbur Wright, one of the two famous brothers who did so much to make human flight possible, was a matter of national concern and grief. Elsewhere in this issue will be found a portrait

of Mr. Wright, with some biographical details. One of the two dignified cartoon tributes to the great aviator reproduced on this page is from his home city of Dayton, Ohio, and is the work of Mr. Evans, of the *News*.



THE COST OF LIVING

COAL BARON (dropping another weight in the consumer's pack): "What's a little thing like that to such a big fellow?"

From the *Tribune* (New York)

THE WORKER (standing on his "high wages" box): "Well, I'm blown! It's almost as difficult to reach as when I had much less to stand on."

From *Punch* (Melbourne)



"GOLLY, I'VE GONE AN' DID IT AGAIN!"

(Apropos of Cuba's governmental troubles) From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland)



THE "INFANT TERRIBLE" OF EUROPE

ITALY: "I want Tripoli! Tripoli is what I want. Do you hear, you fellows, give me Tripoli."

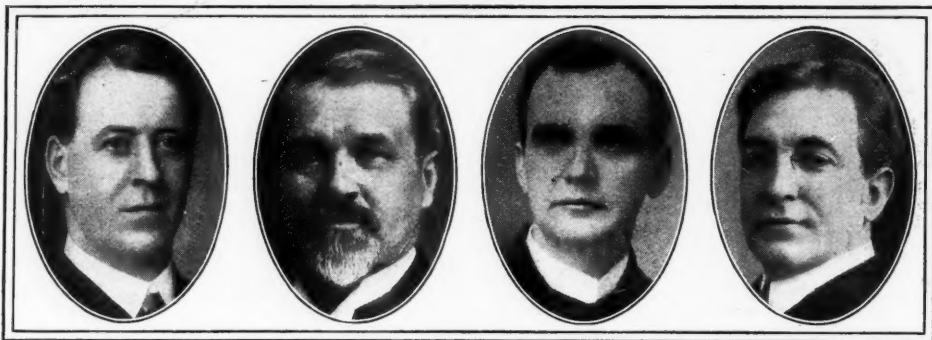
From *Jugend*, (Munich)



THE PEACE MARSHALL

The Kaiser sends a new ambassador—a veritable "dreadnaught"—to his cousin, John Bull, with the hope that he will be able to keep the peace.

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin)



WILLIAM O. SHEPARD

HOMER C. STUNTZ

FRANCIS J. McCONNELL

THEODORE S. HENDERSON

NEWLY ELECTED BISHOPS OF THE

THE NEW METHODIST BISHOPS

BY FERDINAND COWLE IGLEHART

THERE are six million members of the Methodist Church in the United States and from twelve to fifteen millions of church population in that denomination. More than half of this number belong to the Methodist Episcopal branch of the church, whose General Conference has just been held at Minneapolis. The session marked the one hundredth anniversary of that legislative body. The first session had ninety delegates representing 184,000 members; the last 815 delegates, making laws for 3,500,000 members.

John Wesley, the founder of Methodism in the world, never left the Established Church, although his followers were organized by him into societies outside of its pales. He was never ordained a bishop, but actually in his appointment of ministers, in his promulgation of education, in his widespread benevolences, in his ceaseless preaching and in his statesmanship, he did the work of a number of bishops. He was a presbyter in the Church of England and put his hands in consecration upon the head of Thomas Coke and sent him over to America to be a bishop for the Methodists there. Coke laid his hands on the head of Francis Asbury and made him bishop, and so the episcopacy for the new church was created, which has been marked by a long line of singularly able men and preachers, patriotic citizens, educators and reformers. It is claimed that Coke was the first Protestant bishop in the Western Hemisphere. The most important work of the bishop is that of holding annual conferences and assigning appointments to the ministers.

Of the 150 or 200 candidates for the episcopacy at the recent General Conference, held at Minneapolis, eight were elected. They are all men of piety, training and wide experience, and well fitted for the great work before them. The briefest of sketches of these new bishops will show their equipment.

Homer Clyde Stuntz, one of the best known of all, was born at Albion, Pennsylvania, in 1858. He began the study of law in Iowa. Then, however, he finished a course at the Garrett Biblical Institute and took a number of appointments in Iowa. He then went as a missionary to India and the Philippines. He was assistant corresponding secretary of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church at the time of his election. Doctor Stuntz, while a missionary, was editor of the *India Witness* at the same time that Rudyard Kipling was on the staff of an English paper at Hyderabad. They became fast friends and have been ever since and Doctor Stuntz in his lectures on Kipling has perhaps been the best interpreter of the author's thought and sentiment. Bishop Stuntz is a large man, physically as well as intellectually and morally. He is one of the best preachers and platform orators in the country.

Theodore S. Henderson is a native of New Jersey, and just past his forty-fourth birthday. He is a graduate of the Wesleyan University and Drew Theological Seminary. He was Field Secretary of the General Conference commission on aggressive evangelism and was taken from the pastorate of the Hanson Place Church in Brooklyn for the Episcopacy. He has traveled much and is widely known,



FREDERICK D. LEETE

NAPHTALI LUCCOCK

RICHARD J. COOKE

WILBUR B. THIRKIELD

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

especially amongst the colleges of the country, as a successful evangelist. Clear in his intellect, strong in his executive ability, he is tireless in his industry and able and popular as a preacher. One of the events of the General Conference was his address on "The Evangelism Needed To-day."

William O. Shepard has for several years been Superintendent of the Chicago North District. He is a cool, calculating, level-headed man and successful preacher, pastor and administrator, who commands the esteem, not only of the members of his own, but of all denominations in Chicago. He was born on April 11, 1862, in Whiteside County, Ill.

Naphtali Luccock, the finished product of Methodism in the Middle West, was born at Kimbolton, Ohio, in 1853. He was graduated from Ohio Wesleyan University, afterward serving churches in Pittsburgh and St. Louis. Three years ago he was sent to Hyde Park, Kansas City, from which he was chosen Bishop. As a preacher he is brilliant and witty and strong.

Francis John McConnell, the youngest of the eight Bishops elected, first saw the light in a Methodist parsonage at Trinway, Ohio, in 1871. He was graduated at Ohio Wesleyan and Boston Universities. For several years he was pastor of the strong New York Avenue church, Brooklyn, from which he was taken to the presidency of De Pauw University, where he has had phenomenal success. In his clearness and originality of thinking, in the depth, breadth and eloquence of his sermons, good judges of various denominations have counted him one of the ablest preachers of the entire country.

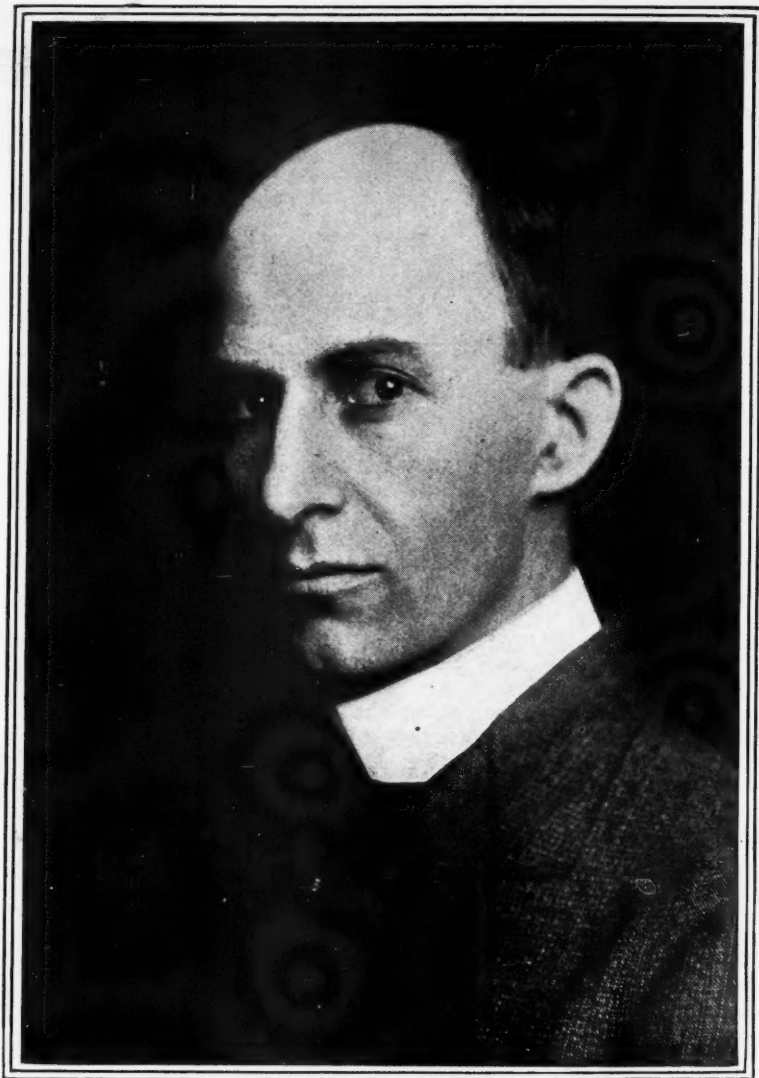
Frederick DeLand Leete, another child of a parsonage, was graduated from the Syracuse University. He had important pastorates in northern New York and was transferred to the beautiful Central Church in Detroit

where he had a very successful administration and from which he was made bishop. He is a popular preacher, a good organizer and is an exponent of the brotherhood idea in the church. He was identified with the Brotherhood of St. Paul's from its beginning and later with the Methodist Brotherhood. He was born in New York State forty-six years ago.

Richard Joseph Cooke is the only city-born man among the new bishops and also the only one selected from south of Mason and Dixon's Line. His Conference home is at Knoxville, Tenn. He was born in New York City in January, 1853. He was educated at the East Tennessee University and in Berlin. He had been for eight years book editor of the church at the time of his election. He is approachable and affable, and has marked literary instincts. He is noted for his knowledge of the discipline and polity of the church.

Wilbur Patterson Thirkield was born at Franklin, Ohio, in September, 1854. He is a graduate of the Ohio Wesleyan and Boston Theological School. He has given much time to the education and betterment of the southern negro, having been secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society and of the Epworth League. At the time of his election, he was president of the Howard University of Washington, D. C. Bishop Thirkield, by his ability and character, has succeeded everywhere in his ministry, and the development of Howard University under his leadership, has been marvelous.

The conference took advanced ground on sociological questions demanding the abolition of many industrial abuses and oppressions, insisting that the church must meet these conditions and return to the primitive championship of the poor and oppressed and common people, which was such a strong factor in the marvelous progress of early Methodism.



WILBUR WRIGHT

LESS than a decade ago two brothers, at Dayton, Ohio, began making flights in heavier-than-air machines of their own devising and construction. On May 30, last, the elder of the brothers, Wilbur Wright, died at his home in Dayton at the age of forty-five, a world-figure in the new science of aviation, recognized in Europe, even more fully than in his own country, as one of the imperishable names of the new century. The French Academy of Sciences had awarded a gold medal to this modest American inventor, and other honors had been conferred on the brothers without stint,—honors richly deserved, for everything that the Wrights achieved in the development of the aeroplane had a scientific basis. The whole weight of their influence has been thrown against recklessness in flight and the needless risk of life and limb. Their efforts, especially of late, have been centered on the securing of stability, and hence safety, in aeroplane flight. To the masterly self-restraint, not less than to the invincible genius, of Wilbur and Orville Wright, is this age of human air-flight indebted.

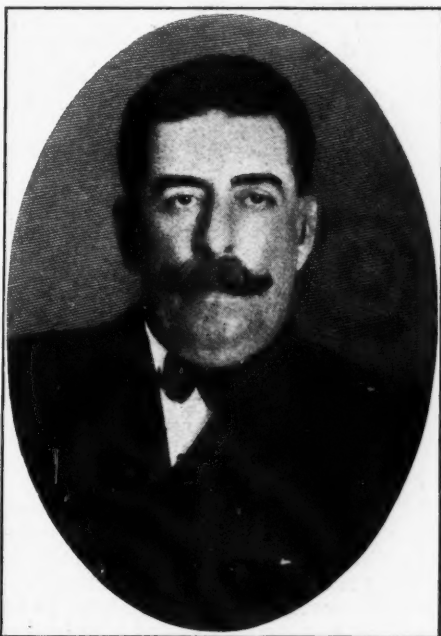
THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN CUBA

[The writer of the following survey of the general Presidential and military situation in Cuba is particularly well qualified to speak. He has lived in the island for more than fourteen years, has ridden all over its territory on horseback, and has recently visited the scene of the negro uprising in the east. He holds an official position in connection with the Department of Agriculture in the Cuban Government. This can be said without necessarily accepting his point of view.—THE EDITOR.]

CUBA is confronted to-day by a situation in which it would seem that the civic virtues of her people are almost entirely obscured by political ambitions. The plague of politics is fastened upon the island with a tenacity which is sapping the vitality of the people. It has attained such baneful proportions that no higher service could be rendered the country by the better class of Cubans than in devoting their energies to a "saneamiento" (purification) of politics. The people generally need to be educated to a serious understanding of their individual and collective relations to the government. The public mind in Cuba must be disabused of the idea that the government is an institution especially designed for the support and maintenance of its citizens.

Cuba is now on the threshold of a political campaign which is pregnant with possibilities, for good or evil. Two parties are in the field with candidates for the presidency. The Conservatives have selected, for the second time, General Mario G. Menocal, who was defeated at the last elections by General José Miguel Gomez, the Liberal candidate and present incumbent. General Menocal, like General Gomez, his opponent, is a veteran of the "War of Independence" of 1895-8, and enjoys a wide popularity throughout the island. When the first American occupation of Cuba occurred, on January 1, 1899, General Menocal was entrusted with the organization of the first police force of Havana, and he performed the duties of his office creditably. He resigned from his post to take up the preliminary work in connection with the establishment of the great Chaparra sugar mill. This estate is situated on the north coast of the province of Oriente, near Puerto Padre, and since its inception General Menocal has been its guiding spirit. Last year it returned to the American capitalists, interested in the company, a dividend equivalent to 39 per cent.

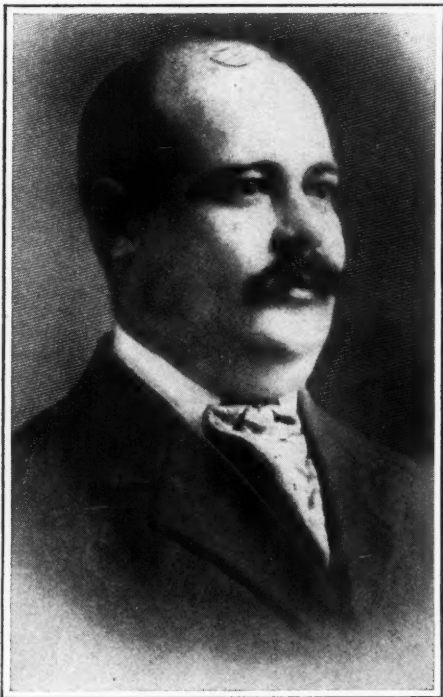
Cuba, however, is actually a Liberal country, and General Menocal is the candidate of



GEN. JOSÉ MIGUEL GOMEZ, PRESIDENT OF CUBA
SINCE JANUARY, 1909

the minority party which polled, at the last elections (1908), 124,044 of the 318,179 votes cast. The only hope it can entertain of being victorious in the coming elections is that the division now existing among its opponents will continue. Under present conditions it is not at all improbable that General Menocal could carry Oriente, Camaguey, Santa Clara, and Matanzas, the four eastern provinces of the island.

The probabilities are, however, that these conditions will not continue, for it is likely that the Liberals will finally agree upon concerted action. The danger is too evident for them to do otherwise. At the present time there are three Liberal candidates in the field for the Presidency. Dr. Alfredo Zayas, an eminent lawyer, and the Vice-President of the Republic, is the leading candidate. Gen-



GENERAL ERNESTO ASBERT, GOVERNOR OF HAVANA PROVINCE AND CANDIDATE FOR THE CUBAN PRESIDENCY

eral Ernesto Asbert, who took an important part in the revolution of 1906, which overturned the Palma administration, and who is Governor of Havana Province, is also a candidate. Governor Asbert is considered to be an upright man and is credited with having administered his office in an efficient and commendable manner. General Eusebio Hernandez holds the chair of gynecology in the Havana University and is a physician of high repute. He distinguished himself in the war of 1895-8.

The Zayistas claim that their candidate alone has the official recognition of the party, he having been nominated by the national convention of the Liberals held in Havana on April 15, last. At that time Dr. Zayas and Governor Rafael Manduley, of Oriente Province, received eighty of the eighty-two votes cast in the convention, for President and Vice-President, and the nomination of this ticket was then made unanimous. Dr. Zayas, as president of the Liberal party, was chairman of the convention, which the Zayistas claim was legally constituted, but both the Asbertistas and the Hernandistas assert that it was not. They charge that the Zayis-

tas packed the convention with unauthorized alternates from several provinces. Immediately after the convention charges and counter charges became rife, and on May 2 the Asbertistas issued a "manifesto," or proclamation, to the people, which embraces their full bill of complaint. Of course the Zayistas deride the two opposing factions and all their charges.

Governor Asbert has a substantial following and must be reckoned with as a factor in the present campaign. His opponents endeavor to injure him by stating that he does not possess the legal qualifications, because he will not be forty years of age until after the election this fall. His enemies have published his birth and baptismal certificates to show that he will not be forty until May 2, 1913. He claims that he is entirely satisfied on this point as he would not have to be forty, to qualify under the law, until May 20, 1913, the day he would be called upon to take the oath of office, if elected.

The Zayistas some time since alleged that Governor Asbert was the protégé of Presi-



GEN. MARIO MENOCAL, CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY



DR. ALFREDO ZAYAS, VICE PRESIDENT AND
LIBERAL CANDIDATE

date for reelection, nor in favor of any particular candidate, his only interest being for the success of the Liberal party. The Zayistas, however, remain very bitter toward him and claim to have proof of his deception. The differences between the "Miguelistas," as the supporters of President Gomez are known, and the "Zayistas" are of long standing. The latter charge the former with having violated the "pacto" made before the election of 1908, by which, it is asserted, Dr. Zayas was to be the party candidate in 1912. This is a lengthy and complicated story, allusion being made to it only to show how hopelessly the Liberal party is split up at the present time with its "istas" and "isms."

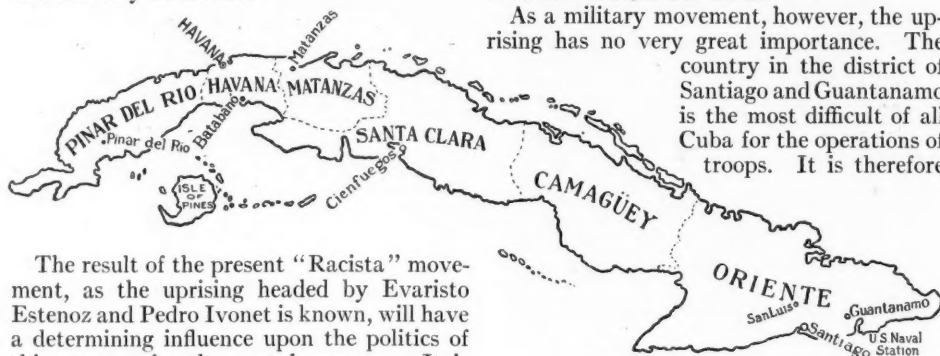
Dr. Zayas holds a commanding position because of the strength he developed in the convention, but it is seriously doubted if he can harmonize the party throughout the island. Without this being effected and faithfully observed there is little hope to be entertained by the Liberal party. The Asbertistas and Hernandistas vehemently assert that they will never accept from or make overtures to the Zayistas. If something is not speedily done to unify the party, the breach between the factions will widen as the elections approach, and the Conservatives will reap an easy victory.

dent Gomez and accused the latter of bad faith charging that he had designs upon another term. President Gomez replied in an open letter stating that he was not a candi-



CUBAN VOLUNTEERS DRILLING IN HAVANA PREPARATORY TO LEAVING FOR THE SCENE OF THE
INSURRECTION IN ORIENTE

President Gomez, who led the Liberal party to victory some time ago, announced that he would not be a candidate for reelection. He is not a candidate at the present time, but it is not improbable that he may be called upon by the people to make the race again. Some candidate must be found who will be able to unite the warring factions, and whoever combines the qualifications and ability to bring about this harmony will undoubtedly be elected.



The result of the present "Racista" movement, as the uprising headed by Evaristo Estenoz and Pedro Ivonet is known, will have a determining influence upon the politics of this country for the next four years. It is charged that Estenoz, as the leader of the Colored Independent party, despite his declarations to the contrary, incited the negroes to rise against the whites. His campaign was begun, it is alleged, soon after the present administration came into power. It is charged that he was so imbued with the idea that the government was created especially to support him that he became rebellious when he was not given a place. He was arrested with a number of others on April 22, 1910, charged with conspiring against the government.

Upon the arrest of Estenoz one of the leading politicians of the Conservative party rushed to his defense, and he, and some of his political colleagues, gave bond to enable Estenoz to regain his liberty. The case against him was finally quashed through the efforts of his defenders. No sooner was he clear of the courts than he again took up his campaign through which he hoped to make Cuba a black republic. Within the year he was threatened with a second arrest, for incendiary utterances, but some of the Conservative leaders went to the President, interceding for him and promising that he would behave. The government has, all along, been well informed of the race movement and has kept in contact with it, but did not wish to make arrests and thus furnish their opponents with political thunder.

The negro uprising is a calamity to Cuba, first, because of the effect it will have on the

credit of the country; second, the damage it does to all lines of business; third, the spreading of a propaganda among the negroes which will be very difficult to eradicate; fourth, the restricting effects which must in future be visited upon the colored population in order to correct this public evil, and, fifth, the ideas and ambitions awakened on the one side, with the consequent suspicions and animosity which must hereafter exist in both elements toward the other.

As a military movement, however, the uprising has no very great importance. The country in the district of Santiago and Guantanamo is the most difficult of all Cuba for the operations of troops. It is therefore

CUBA, SHOWING THE SCENE OF THE INSURRECTION
(San Luis, in the Province of Oriente, is the center of the negro uprising)

probable that the negroes may hold out and commit petty depredations for some time, if they are of a mind to do so, and are lucky in evading a decisive engagement with the government forces. Many of the negroes who have joined Estenoz in the eastern part of the island are inured to the hardships of that section, and, having lived there all of their lives, have a thorough knowledge of the mountainous trails and passes with which the troops are not so well acquainted. If the government forces are fortunate, they are capable of annihilating the rebels in the first encounter. If they are not, it seems likely that they will at least have the movement well under control within a short time. The rebels have no resources to fall back upon, while the government is well prepared, and has a large and efficiently equipped force in the field.

The prompt manner in which the government has taken the initiative, and the energy shown by the chief executive, has created a most favorable effect on the country. There is no doubt that to-day President Gomez is the strongest man in Cuba, and it seems highly probable that the trouble the island is now experiencing will so increase his popularity as to compel his candidacy and assure his reelection.

THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS

THIS is the second of a series of seven articles on the general subject of "The People and the Trusts" now appearing in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS." Each article in turn discusses the great question from the point of view of a different individual concerned. The first, "Big Business and the Citizen," of which this is a continuation, appeared in the June number. Others to follow are "The Borrower," "The Laborer," "The Investor," "The Middleman" and "The Captain of Industry." By thus limiting the field a simplicity and clearness otherwise impossible of attainment is achieved, though scientific accuracy is preserved.

BIG BUSINESS AND THE CITIZEN,—II

BY HOLLAND THOMPSON

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THE familiar charges against Big Business to-day are echoes from past centuries. The real sin, from the standpoint of the Citizen, is Secrecy from which the other evils spring. Why?

The first half of this paper (see REVIEW OF REVIEWS for June) showed that monopolies of larger proportional size, exercising more nearly complete control and using more vigorous methods than their modern successors, flourished at various periods in history. They were operated primarily for selfish purposes, but often the whole people shared their gains. When Society had done with them they ceased to exist, but many left a permanent contribution to the general welfare.

The medieval guilds encouraged commerce and gave stability to industry; the Hanseatic League broke up nests of pirates, served the public convenience and carried light into darkness; the East India Company created the British Empire and indirectly made the Suez Canal a reality, instead of a dream; the Hudson's Bay Company maintained a British foothold in Canada, explored the trackless reaches of the unknown land, and thereby hastened the settlement, though against its will; even Joseph's corner in grain furnished bread (though at an enormous price), when otherwise there would have been none.

So in its turn our modern Big Business has, through pure selfishness, brought certain real public advantages in its train. The small concern was often unable to make the best combinations of men and material, and waste,

the deadly economic sin, resulted. Compare the speed, comfort and certainty of railway travel to-day with what our fathers knew. Compare the prices of hundreds of articles with those our fathers paid, and we must acknowledge that the public has had a share in the economies of production on a large scale.

One great distinction between ancient and modern Big Business as it has developed in the United States, is the difference in attitude toward the state. In former days the paramount authority of the ruler (himself often a monopolist) over trade and commerce was recognized. The king did not always maintain a consistent control, for his administrative system was not efficient, but *when he wanted information, he got it*. When he wished to restrain, regulate or crush a monopoly, whether induced by his own greed or impelled by the pressure of public opinion, he did it without hesitation.

Some modern managers of Big Business would deny the right of the state to question its organization or its methods. The People, who have succeeded to all the authority once claimed by the ruler, have neglected to assert all their rights, and some of our Captains of Industry have grown to believe that business is a law unto itself. The public interest has been ignored and depredations against competitor and consumer alike have been secretly planned. Such Secrecy is the sin of which we speak.

Such a spirit is characteristic of America

and has grown out of the peculiar conditions of our national life. There has been so much pioneer work to be done in the United States that the important question has been how much, not how well, or how justly, work has been done. Lavish energy has been devoted to subduing the wilderness, or has been poured into trade and commerce. Life in a new country developed independence of spirit, a certain fierce individualism, which ignored the common rights of all. Every man felt that he was the best, and in many cases the sole, judge of his own conduct.

The Kentucky Mountaineer and the Bank President

This feeling that a man may do as he pleases with his own has persisted in business, though the spirit of the times is changing. Gradually we are realizing that no man has the right to be the sole judge of his conduct, that all the people must be considered before the interests of a few. We say that the Kentucky mountaineer, who demands that he be permitted to make his own rules of conduct, who claims the right to constitute himself judge, jury and executioner, is a survival from an earlier and ruder age. The bank president who boasts of his refusal to answer the questions of the House of Representatives is likewise a survival of another stage of civilization in the United States.

The marvelous improvements in means of transportation and communication are rapidly making the United States (and to a less degree the world) an industrial unit; somewhat more slowly a social unit. The country is no longer made up of separate divisions. A shock in one section is felt in all. Inefficiency, industrial or social, is paid for by the whole country. We cannot afford the deadly sin of waste, for our wants are increasing faster than the means of gratifying them. Neither can we afford to have the occupants of a field expend their energy which should go into making their plants efficient, in the attempt to destroy one another, and then join forces to rob those outside.

The unrestricted, relentless competition of the nineteenth century wasted not only our natural resources, but also energy and capital. Since it was easier to waste than to save, the wealth which should have been preserved for future generations was squandered. This competition either left one organization triumphant among the slain, or else has resulted in agreements, divisions of the field, combinations or consolidations. The Citizen is told that large economies have been

effected. To what extent is the Consumer sharing them? Is the Laborer getting his share? Has Society gained? Undoubtedly oil is cheaper than forty years ago, but is this because of Standard Oil or in spite of it? How can the Citizen know, for he must know in order to judge wisely, and govern his conduct accordingly?

Why the State Has the Right to Control

It is too late for Big Business to bluster about "unwarranted interference with private business." Such business is not private business. *The creation by the state of limited liability corporations was the most extensive interference with private business in history.* The old monopoly was, generally speaking, built upon a royal grant of powers and privileges. Modern business is built upon the corporation through which the capital of many separate individuals is subjected to unified control.

No invention, no discovery in the whole history of the world has so vitally influenced the whole field of business. This artificial person, combining, as it does, nearly all the advantages of private ownership without the disadvantages, and in addition many advantages given by the state, has become increasingly important with industrial growth, and has made possible the large scale business we have to-day. Few individuals have the capital necessary to finance any one of these large undertakings, and still fewer would be willing to invest such large sums in a business which might be thrown into confusion or even ruin, by death. The partnership allows somewhat larger establishments, but even here there are certain disadvantages compared with the newer forms of association. A statement of some elementary facts of contract law will make the matter clear.

Why the Corporation is Displacing the Partnership

Smith, Jones and Brown form a partnership. According to the common law none of these may be a married woman, nor under twenty-one years of age. Every one of them is responsible for the debts of the firm, even to the extent of his entire possessions, no matter if this debt is caused by the unauthorized action, or even the dishonesty of one of the partners, presumably acting for the firm. A suit against the partnership may tie up all the enterprises of every member. No fourth partner can be introduced without the consent of every one of the three. No one of

them can make any private profit out of any dealings with the firm. Though Smith may desire to withdraw or to sell his interest, he may still be held responsible for the debts of the firm made before he leaves it. If Brown dies, or Jones becomes bankrupt, the partnership affairs must be wound up.

Compare these restrictions with the freedom allowed when Smith, Jones and Brown form a corporation. Its life is perpetual or at least renewable. Every member then is liable only for the property he has invested. (The double liability of the stockholders of National Banks is a special case.) Jones may withdraw by selling or giving away his stock at any time, without the consent or even the knowledge of his fellows; he may own the whole or a part of a competing business, may sell goods to the corporation, or may buy from it. The insolvency or death of a shareholder has no effect upon the corporation, nor can an officer without authorization of the directors embark in a course which will involve all in ruin, a course which any partner may take. Has not the state here given great advantage to the corporation?

So then the corporation is the child of the state. From the state come its great advantages which have made possible the domination of certain fields. The state gave these powers *not for the benefit of the shareholders but for the public interest, to enable the corporation to do the work which an individual or a partnership could not do, or, at least, was unwilling to do.* Then when the state finds that these powers are used, not for the interest of its citizens but to oppress them, who can say that the state may not interfere?

What Do the Courts Say About this Theory?

This is not only sound ethics, but it is good law. In the beginning of the history of the

corporation, the judges were disposed to treat it precisely as an individual. We are told that in the early days of illuminating gas, it was held that the company was free to sell or to refuse its product to any individual. The absurdity of such a decision was apparent, and the courts soon declared that all applying must be supplied without discrimination. Now it is further settled that the state may prescribe a minimum quality and a maximum price, provided that this price will afford a reasonable return to capital.

As the public consciousness has become able to think in terms of corporations as well as in terms of individuals, the law has advanced still further.

It is useless to deny that in their interpretation and application of the principles of the common law, judges are profoundly influenced by the social consciousness. *In the long run the law is what the people demand that it shall be,* and this is true regardless of any of the modern machinery which promises to turn instantaneously a passing whim into a statute.

A Great Case in Corporation Law

A landmark in modern corporation law is the great case of *Munn v. Illinois*, popularly known as

the "Elevator Case," decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1877. The question in dispute was the right of the state to regulate the rules and charges of grain elevators. Chief Justice Waite delivered the opinion of seven members of the court and showed that from time immemorial the right of the state to regulate various activities of its citizens had been assumed, and went on to say that, "when private property is 'affected with a public interest it ceases to be *juris privati* only.' Property does become clothed with a public interest when used in a manner to make it of public consequence, and affect the community at large."

WHAT FORM OF OWNERSHIP IS GROWING?

These figures from the Census Report on Manufactures, just published, show clearly how the corporation has gained and is gaining on other forms of ownership. Various co-operative forms of ownership also increased, but their product is negligible. The individual and the partnership both lost ground.

CHARACTER OF OWNERSHIP.	Number of establishments.	Average number of wage earners.	Value of products.
All classes:			
1909.....	268,491	6,615,046	\$20,672,051,870
1904.....	216,180	5,468,383	14,793,902,563
PER CENT. OF TOTAL			
1909.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
1904.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
Individual:			
1909.....	52.4	12.2	9.9
1904.....	52.7	13.8	11.5
Firm:			
1909.....	20.2	12.0	10.6
1904.....	22.2	15.4	14.4
Corporation:			
1909.....	25.9	75.6	79.0
1904.....	23.6	70.6	73.7
Other:			
1909.....	1.5	0.2	0.5
1904.....	1.5	0.2	0.4

Upon this case as a pivot the "Granger Cases" which prepared the way for regulation of public service corporations turned.* Regulation of corporations serving the public was declared to be lawful in spite of the emphatic protest of Justice Field (approved by Justice Strong), who said: "There is no business or enterprise involving expenditure to any extent which is not of public consequence and which does not affect the community at large." In another place the same justice declared that the opinion of the seven justices was a "bold assertion of absolute power by the state to control at its discretion the property and business of the citizen and fix the compensation he shall receive." Nevertheless the decision stands.

How Social Forces Have Influenced Judges

Note the progress of the law as interpreted by the courts. First the corporation is treated precisely as an individual, and, with the conception of the power of the state which prevailed at the time, its right to arbitrary action is affirmed. Then the so-called public service corporation is separated from the corporation in general, discrimination on its part is forbidden, and next the right to regulate the prices of its product, whether goods or services, is asserted. Finally the idea of regulation is logically extended to all corporation of "public consequences," that is, having an element of monopoly.

* This name was applied to a group of cases coming from the Middle West decided by the Supreme Court 1876-77. Their purpose was to test the constitutionality of the restrictive legislation on common carriers placed in the statute books through the influence of the National Grange of Patrons of Husbandry, so powerful in that section a generation ago.

What in fact is the difference between gas and kerosene? The state regulates the terms on which gas may be sold, because it is a public necessity supplied by a monopoly. Kerosene is likewise a necessity and in some sections of the country is supplied only by a monopoly. Again gas is used for heating and cooking. So is anthracite coal, and if it is subjected to unified control, why are not the cases similar?

HOW BIG BUSINESS IS GROWING

This companion table taken from the same source shows the tendency toward concentration in manufacturing. Every bake-shop, every little creamery, is classed as a manufacturing establishment. If the figures for these industries, together with women's clothing, furniture and lumber, which industries are not yet concentrated, were omitted, the proportion of the business done by the "million-dollar class" would rise to 48.5 per cent.

VALUE OF PRODUCTS.	Number of establishments.	Average number of wage earners.	Value of products.
All classes:			
1909.....	268,491	6,615,046	\$20,672,051,870
1904.....	216,180	5,468,383	14,793,902,563
PER CENT. OF TOTAL:			
1909.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
1904.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
Less than \$5,000:			
1909.....	34.8	2.2	1.1
1904.....	32.9	1.9	1.2
\$5,000 and less than \$20,000:			
1909.....	32.4	7.1	4.4
1904.....	33.7	7.7	5.1
\$20,000 and less than \$100,000:			
1909.....	21.3	16.5	12.3
1904.....	22.2	18.8	14.4
\$100,000 and less than \$1,000,000:			
1909.....	10.4	43.8	38.4
1904.....	10.3	46.0	41.3
\$1,000,000 and over:			
1909.....	1.1	30.5	43.8
1904.....	0.9	25.6	38.0

This means that though the very small establishments increased in numbers and also in proportion to the whole number of establishments, they actually did a smaller proportion of the business in 1909 than in 1904. Only the "million-dollar class" increased both in number and business.

The Citizen is not yet ready to go to such lengths. Perhaps he never will be. In the Middle Ages such regulation was not particularly difficult. To-day such action would be attended with infinitely more complications, though the increasing concentration of business would make such regulation easier now than forty years ago. Some students see no other way to curb the power of those great industrial combinations, which have gained substantial control of their fields, but the average Citizen is as yet too individualistic. Only as a last resort will he agree to such action, *but his right cannot be logically questioned.*

How Much Information Is There To Get?

Big business is becoming the distinctive feature of American industrial life. The census

shows that just over one-fourth of the manufacturing establishments of the United States are under corporate control, *but they do 79 per cent. of the business.* Only a little more than one per cent. of the establishments produce more than a million dollars worth of goods in a year, *but these establishments do nearly 44 per cent. of the business.* These 3061 organizations (there were only 1900 of them

five years ago) are divided among all branches of industry. Not all of them are trusts. The highest estimate of such combinations is about 800, and this is much padded, but the figures shown do indicate that the large establishment is growing more important.

Have these leviathans succeeded on account of superior ability or exceptional skill in management, or because of advantageous location, and special advantages in transportation, natural or artificial? Has the success been due to the possession of basic patents, or to any one or more of these advantages combined with sheer brutality toward competitors, and contemptuous disregard of the producer of raw material and of the consumer alike?

No one knows. We do know the secret of a few. The Standard Oil colossus owed much to the freight rebates, not only on its own product, but also on that of its competitors, obligingly collected and paid over by the railroads. Practically all the older concerns have profited by rebates, for that matter. The ownership of popular brands, together with imagination and ruthless singleness of purpose, made the American Tobacco Company the dictator of the nicotine world. The ownership of its raw materials, and, in a large measure, of its means of transportation has enabled the Steel Corporation to hold its own and pay dividends upon capitalized visions.

We can surmise the reasons for the success of others, sometimes creditable, sometimes not. We are told that some have grown great because they best serve the public, because they give as well as take. We have heard that others have set out to win a monopoly without scruple as to methods, but the Citizen does not know the truth.

Regardless of past history, what is the present attitude of these great aggregations of capital toward the public which has allowed them to grow strong enough to control prices,—for after all this is perhaps as good a definition of a trust as we have—an organization strong enough to affect prices at will. Are they pursuing the paths of fairness and justice, or do they seek to accomplish by indirection what they no longer dare to do openly? Are they obeying the law of the land? The Citizen does not know, and he has no means of knowing. Some of the managers say that they do not know either, and that they wish to be told.

The Citizen demands the answers to all these questions and more besides? When a new combination is organized he wishes to know how much of the capitalization repre-

sents physical value, how much is allowed for good-will and trade-marks, how much is water only, and how heavy are the promoters' and underwriters' fees. He is also interested in the relationship of different corporations. Do they really work together while pretending to be opposed? The Citizen is always a consumer and he is sometimes an Investor also.

He knows that in this day he cannot be sure of a fair price unless he knows the costs. Therefore he wishes to know the cost of the raw material, and the transportation charges on it, how much is paid for wages, how much for interest and depreciation, and how much for expenses of management.

Then, too, he is inquisitive about the cost of selling the product. How much difference is there between the price at the shop and on the doorstep of the consumer? Was the man who dropped into the plate a cent for the heathen, but wrapped it in a dollar bill to pay the expense of getting it to them, thinking of modern middlemen? Further, are prices uniform in all sections regardless of a real or potential competitor?

The Club with Which the Great Combination Wins

This is one of the points on which the Citizen is particularly inquisitive. He has been told that the great organization which sells in every part of the country sometimes reduces prices unduly in the corner where a small competitor is located, while maintaining them in other sections. Usually the competitor must yield, for it must meet these prices,—often below cost, which the larger concern can offer because it is sustained by profits gained elsewhere. This competitor may be able to produce goods as cheaply as the trust,—for in some lines, size beyond a certain point does not necessarily mean increased efficiency—but it cannot match the resources of the larger organization. If uniform prices were the rule, the competitor might be able to lose one dollar as long as its great rival could afford to lose ten.

Then, too, there are stories of the attitude of some great combinations toward labor, about which the Citizen is curious. He has heard that an organization operating perhaps a dozen plants sometimes closes one arbitrarily until the workers are brought to terms, regardless of the justice of their contention. Then this plant is reopened and the same process is repeated in another.

Combination is taking in new fields. Openly the cotton farmers have been urged to organ-

ize, to reduce the supply and hold even that reduced supply from the market until a monopoly price is offered, and some slight progress toward such an end has been made. In some sections the growers of fruits and berries have made agreements, or formed combinations, with the ostensible purpose of securing better packing and more intelligent marketing. There are stories of concerted action on the part of the producers of milk and butter.

Deep down in his mind the most individualistic citizen is beginning to doubt both the efficacy of competition in regulating prices, and even its desirability in many lines of industry. He sometimes asks himself *whether any law could make him fight against his will, and if he would not fight himself, how can others be made to struggle?* But the Citizen has a very lively curiosity concerning all these agreements to restrain trade. He wishes to know their terms, and their effects.

These are some of the points upon which the great body of American citizens desire information, and without which there is little hope of unwinding the tangled skein of our industrial and economic life. In a word they wish to know the costs of both goods and services which they must buy, and next, how these costs are reached.

The Citizen will know. This does not mean either arbitrary interferences or confiscation, but social justice must be done. *If this end is to be reached by regulated competition, the Citizen must know; if by regulated monopoly, the state will survive.* But it is to be a deliberate choice and not a supine acceptance of unregulated monopoly.

Who Will Get the Information?

A Commission on Interstate Trade is the answer.

Just what form this Commission shall take and what powers shall be granted it are questions upon which there is difference of opinion. *From the point of view of the framers of this series, the fundamental necessity is that it shall be an effective agency for Investigation and Publicity.* Beyond this they are, for the present, less concerned. Others have urged that powers of regulation be added, and many separate schemes have been suggested.

The different plans, though varying in details may be reduced to three, which may be characterized as (1) the Investigation and Publicity plan; (2) the License plan; and (3) the Regulation plan. These differ chiefly in the amount of Federal control demanded.

The plan of Senator Francis G. Newlands,

of Nevada, as set forth in his bill introduced into the United States Senate February 26, 1912, calls for a commission of three members, to be appointed by the President for a term of nine years, with terms so arranged that there shall be a vacancy every three years. The Bureau of Corporations is to be absorbed with its staff of investigators and accountants, and the present Commission of Corporations is to be a member of the Commission.

The powers given may be stated as those of Visitation, Examination, Investigation and Publication. All corporations engaged in interstate commerce having gross receipts of \$5,000,000 (except those already subject to the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Comptroller of the Currency, *i. e.*, public utilities and banking) are directly in charge of the new Commission. From these a report in a prescribed form giving a statement of organization, financial condition and operations will be required at once under oath. Thereafter such reports are to be regularly made. A report of similar nature is to be made by corporations beginning business.

The Commission, or its agents, will have the right to examine all books, records, and minutes, and the power to subpoena witnesses, examine them under oath, and to compel the production of books and papers is also given. These powers are to be enforced by the *mandamus* of the United States District Court. The Commission shall make public so much of the information gained as shall seem proper, *striving always to distinguish between what is purely private and what is of public interest.*

The bill further provides that the Commission may require reports of the condition of any particular corporation regardless of size, and may publish the information gained. Likewise it may investigate, on its own initiative, or upon the complaint of any citizen or of the Attorney General, any corporation to determine whether it has been guilty of violating the Sherman Act. If improper practices are found, it may inform the officers and prescribe readjustments. If the practice or condition is not corrected within sixty days, a copy of the finding and the evidence is to be sent the Department of Justice.

Further it is provided that the Commission shall be charged with carrying out the decisions of the courts on the Sherman Act. It is certain that a commission with broader knowledge of economic questions than that possessed by the judges of the United States Courts in New York, for example, would have

worked out a plan for the reorganization of the American Tobacco Company, which would have received, and deserved, less criticism than the solution finally announced.

The assumptions behind this bill are of course that the Sherman Act can be made effective, and that we are too ignorant of the facts to attempt more definite legislation at present. It leaves the question whether it is possible to retain competition in all lines to the future. It lays out a program, comprehensive so far as it goes, and undoubtedly effective to a degree, and leaves further action to the time, when the results of the Commission's activities will furnish more exact knowledge than is now available.

On the other hand the effect of this bill on the corporation, should it become a law, might be beneficial in many cases. The preparation of the figures required by the Commission would force the officers and directors to scrutinize with care their system of accounts. There is a strong suspicion that many of the plants of certain great combinations are neither well equipped nor efficient. It is also believed that several of the combinations cannot manufacture so cheaply as some of their independent rivals. The reports to the Commission would show the truth.

What of a Federal License?

The different plans suggested for a Federal license add to the activities of the Commission (more or less the same as described above), the duty of licensing corporations engaged in interstate commerce. These plans differ chiefly on the question of making the application for license permissive or mandatory.

In one case the license is a reward of merit for the "good trust." Those corporations above a certain size which can satisfy the Commission that they are organized in accordance with the law, that they do not prey upon producers of raw material, competitors or the public, are to have the privilege of adding "United States Registered" or similar words to their title. Upon proof of improper conduct the Commission is authorized to revoke the license.

The advocates of the plan claim that the possession of a Federal license would soon be highly prized and would in time be regarded as a necessity, since the public, feeling that the possession of a license gave some assurance of fair dealing, would give the preference to the registered corporation; that the obligations of this class would bring a higher price than those of the unregistered for the

same reason that the bonds issued by various public service corporations which are approved by the Public Service Commissions of some of the states have a wider market and a readier sale.

The advocates of requiring a Federal license would bar from interstate commerce all corporations to which the Commission refused a license. Such a plan is not, in fact, essentially different from Federal incorporation, or from regulation, to which we now come.

Senator Cummins' Plan for Regulation

The wisdom of preserving competition is not a debatable question to Senator Cummins. His mind is settled upon that point, and his plan is based upon the intention of preventing any corporation from obtaining control of any field. His bill, introduced the same day as Senator Newlands', provides for a commission organized much as that advocated by the latter, but with greater powers.

While believing firmly in the Sherman Act he feels that it is not, as it stands, sufficiently definite, and that to wait until a consistent body of law is developed by the decisions of the Supreme Court would be fatal. Therefore the greater part of his bill is devoted to what may be described as an amplification of the Sherman Act.

The Commission is charged with the duty of preventing any corporation from employing sufficient capital to destroy effective competition. Every corporation engaged in interstate commerce with capital of \$5,000,000 or over is made subject to the control of the Commission. No man may be director in two corporations in the same line, nor are dummy directors permitted. The "holding company" is declared illegal and, in fact, no corporation may own stock in another corporation. No officer or director of a company with a capital stock of \$10,000,000 or more may be an officer or director of a bank.

Not only must there be no holding companies, but also the ownership of common carriers or any interest in the same is forbidden. Discrimination in prices is forbidden except for carload lots, or where charges are paid by the manufacturer, these may be added to the fixed price.

The Position of the Citizen

The chief question of the citizen about any of these plans is whether it will work. With the aim of Senator Cummins' plan he is in

sympathy, but he realizes that men are only human. This bill imposes upon a new commission more difficult tasks than have been given to the Interstate Commerce Commission after twenty-five years of experience, and calls for an exercise of discretion and judgment which would tax the ablest jurists and economists.

The License plan is chiefly advocated by those who are directly interested in "big business" and while the Citizen is not unduly suspicious, he is afraid that in the present state of our knowledge, the Federal seal of approval will come to mean little more than "U. S. Inspected and Passed" in the packing industry, and largely for the same reason—too much work for the inspectors. Discovering facts and approving practices are two entirely distinct things.

At the present time what the Citizen demands most insistently is knowledge. All that the muckrakers have said cannot be true, and yet he knows that all is not well. He believes that a Commission of Investigation and Publication will work, because he has before him the success of a commission which has proved its ability to use broader powers than he is disposed to grant to the new body.

A Lesson from Ancient History

Forty years ago the railroad question was the vital economic problem. Rebates to favored shippers were so common that a prominent railroad man said, "Only the unwary paid tariff rates." The shipper without influence often paid a freight rate, one fourth or even one half greater than that paid by his competitor. One town was favored at the expense of another, the railroad was in politics all the time, and "the public be damned" was the ruling policy. Twenty-five years ago the Interstate Commerce Commission was formed and, after a period of weakness, its powers have been increased until it is now a singularly strong and effective body. No one in his senses would claim for a moment that it has been entirely successful, but, on the other hand, no one except an antediluvian would deny that the Publicity it has caused has been beneficial to the railroad, the shipper and the public alike.

The Commission has not entirely stopped rebating, but rebating has become the exception and not the rule. Freight discriminations exist, but they are growing fewer. The Citizen who buys a ticket may help to pay for a certain amount of free transportation, but fewer politicians or "influential citizens" ride

on passes. The Commission has not taken the railroads entirely out of politics, but their political power has been reduced, partly because of the work of the Commission, partly for other reasons.

The Commission has decided many cases (though often overruled by the courts), but the injustices it has prevented are many times as numerous as those it has corrected. A very large majority of the complaints have been redressed without formal action, and the very existence of a body to which appeal was possible has made the necessity for appeal less frequent. Publicity has been effective, for no railroad manager any more than an individual wishes the reputation of being an extortioner.

There are, according to the estimate of the Commissioner of Corporation, somewhere between 325 and 500 corporations doing a business of more than \$5,000,000 a year. The task of supervising these would be less difficult than the task the Interstate Commerce Commission has performed. It is amusing and interesting to read now the prophecies of failure given elsewhere in this article, which were made only twenty-five years ago.

What Will You Do with the Information When You Get It?

Publish it, is the answer. The ease and rapidity of communication and transportation have made possible the phenomenal growth of capital and also its concentration. It is proposed to use these same modern agencies to restrain the modern Midas, when he forgets that he has grown wealthy and powerful only through the permission of Society.

What Can Publicity Accomplish Against Such Great Forces?

Light is one of the strongest preventives of crime. Increasing the illumination will do more to reform a street than doubling the force of policemen. A light hung in front of a safe is better protection than a watchman, for all the passers-by are transformed into watchmen. So it is the obscurity with which the transactions of our great corporations are covered that allows those acts of which the Citizen justly complains.

Aroused and informed Public Opinion is a force which is almost irresistible. As a witness before the Senate Committee aptly said, "No one except a fool disregards public opinion." It forced Elizabeth to revoke the charters of many monopolies she had granted, it brought on the Civil War, it forced the United

States into the war with Spain, it forced the settlement of the recent textile strike in New England.

There are hundreds, even thousands, of such cases in history. Where the great mass of the people has had no direct voice in the government, wise rulers have always made concessions to public feeling. The influence of this force is shown in our everyday life. Many men lead decent lives from no higher motives than the desire for the approbation of their fellows. Other thousands abstain from open evil from fear of public censure alone. This has always been true of individuals and now the corporation has fallen into line. It also seeks to gain approbation and to avoid blame, and is showing a new deference to the opinion of its patrons.

Instances could be multiplied from the daily papers. A few years ago the Long Island Railroad wished to raise its rates. It bought columns of the newspapers to explain the financial reasons which made such action necessary. The same course was taken by the management of the Hudson River tubes, when the fare from New Jersey to New York was increased a few months ago. Twenty years ago similar corporations would never have dreamed of paying for advertising space to placate the public. Now nearly every great corporation has a publicity agent to spread, all that is favorable, and to offer a plausible explanation of occurrences which might cause unfavorable comment.

So the simple publication of acts of injustice and unfairness would in many cases work their cure, just as the investigations of the Bureau of Corporations have changed the rules of the Cotton Exchanges. Herbert Knox Smith, the Commissioner of Corporations, says:

The report of the bureau in the transportation of petroleum published in May, 1906, effected a sweeping decrease in the granting of railway rebates throughout the country. Practically every railroad involved . . . canceled the objectionable rates within six months after the issuance of the report.

Again there is another advantage. Fifty years ago the hero of the Sunday-school book became a successful merchant or manufacturer. Now suspicion is attached to wealth and all the rich are classed as predatory. Too often the question is, "Where did he get it?" or "What does he want?" All men of wealth have suffered for the deeds of a few. Those coming through the fires of investigation unscathed would find the attitude of the public different, and the Citizen would lose

his suspicious attitude which is harming him no less than its object.

No one class will profit more by Publicity than the small stockholders in the large corporation. Too often the dominant interests have treated them as of no account, have concealed earnings, withheld dividends, or declared them when not earned, solely that they might juggle with the stock market. We saw the price of Standard Oil rising after dissolution had been decreed, because those on the inside withheld information until their hands were forced. The stockholders knew nothing of the affairs of the corporation except that it paid good dividends. It could have paid a higher rate. Again Publicity would bring to light the concealed corporations, largely composed of insiders, which often take the lion's share of the profits which should belong to the stockholders of the larger organization. Insiders could no longer form "construction companies" to which contracts would be let at exorbitant prices. The sling of David was an object of derision, but it prevailed against Goliath.

As we have said above, the Citizen has begun to doubt the possibility of maintaining competition in all lines of business. He is forced to believe that the badly located plant with insufficient capital cannot produce cheaply, and increasing cheapness of production is necessary for economic progress, for waste is a sin. He is told that a drug store with too little capital, and lacking efficient management cannot properly serve the public. Yet the Citizen must be certain that these are really inefficient, for he is sorry to see his neighbors fail.

But if under a régime of Publicity, the larger and better equipped plant, or the intelligently managed chain-store, can fairly and honestly offer cheaper goods, or afford better service, the Citizen is not a Mrs. Partington, who will try to sweep back the waves of the sea. The relatively inefficient must go, in the long run, just as the hand-loom weaver disappeared before the factory, and, in our own day, we are seeing the hand compositor give place to the linotype operator.

The Citizen *knows* that savage, intolerant competition destroys the weaker and leads toward monopoly. He *hopes* to see the present uncertainty replaced by an era of "tolerant competition," when efficient plants will strive to secure the business by producing better and cheaper goods, or by offering better service. In other words, he hopes to preserve all the economies of large-scale production without the dangers of monopoly.

The Conclusion of the Whole Matter

Finally, under the reign of Publicity the real culprits will stand revealed. Those who deliberately and defiantly deny their obligation to Society and avow their motto to be "Let him get who hath the power" will no longer be protected. For them is the scourge of the law.

Let us now trace again the path by which we have come. Monopoly is as old as history and practices of the modern monopolist were common to his predecessor. The old monop-

olist, however, seldom denied his responsibility to his creator. The modern monopolist has grown great, largely because of the privileges granted by the state. The state, then, can regulate the business as soon as it becomes of "public consequence." But in order to frame proper legislation, we must have all the facts of organization and conduct. The agency which will get these facts is a permanent commission organized for the purpose. When the monopolists find that their actions will be brought to the light, many improper practices will disappear. If they do not, we shall know how to deal with them.

A CHAPTER OF ANCIENT HISTORY

These extracts below on the question of establishing the Interstate Commerce Commission are only a little more than twenty-five years old, but they sound as if they belonged to another age. They show better than pages of explanation could do some of the common ideas a quarter of a century ago,—the arrogant individualism, the absolute lack of any conception of the rights of the public. On the other hand there is the demagogic appeal to the prejudices of the people.

They are taken, either from the report of the Cullom Committee of the United States Senate 1885-86 or from the *Congressional Record*.

John Norris, editor *Philadelphia Record*:

A commission would be dangerous. In the first place it would bring the railroad interests into politics. . . . It would give an almost autocratic power to some few men.

Charles E. Perkins, president of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R.:

To require absolute publicity of rates and that changes should not be made without public notice would be a great inconvenience to the business community. . . . It is of the utmost importance to the public that the parties interested, the railroads and the shippers, should be free to make and take advantage of varying rates when circumstances make variations necessary.

I am unable to perceive any reason why railroads should be required to make annual reports

to the government, any more than any and all corporations.

Senator Stanford:

Therefore if legislation interferes to decrease income, surely the value of the property is affected to the extent of the diminution of the income. This is taking property without compensation. It is confiscation.

Senator Sherman:

I believe that it will be repealed within a short time.

Senator Riddleberger:

. . . this bill as it stands legalizes discrimination against nine-tenths of the people of this country. I believe it is just such a bill as the railroads want.



WHAT THE WEST EXPECTS FROM PANAMA

THE AWAKENING OF SOUTH AMERICA AND THE OPENING
DOORS OF CHINA

BY AGNES C. LAUT

IT goes without saying, when the ports of the Pacific Coast are spending a hundred million dollars in preparation for the opening of the Panama Canal, that they are not spending such an amount on the expectation of the whooping boomster, on "hot air" and "tall talk" and street-corner prophecies. They have figured out the benefits from the canal in dollars and cents.

Having planned an expenditure of a hundred million on improved harbors, terminals, lowered rail grades, what return do the Pacific Coast ports expect from their investment?

For three times the distance by water, the rate is one to three. By rail, one cent buys, say, one hundred miles. By water, one cent buys one thousand miles. That is what Panama means in a saving to Prince Rupert. In fact the necessity of attracting grain to the Atlantic as against Panama has this year caused a drop of a cent a bushel for lake ports to New York *via* Buffalo. One Western firm, which shipped 16,000 bushels to Liverpool *via* Tehuantepec, saved 8 cents a bushel as against the Montreal and New York rate.

THE LUMBER PORTS

CANADIAN PORTS

Begin at the most northern Pacific trans-continental terminal—Prince Rupert, the Western end of the Grand Trunk. The Grand Trunk passes over as vast grain areas as the Canadian Pacific or the Great Northern. The wheat crop of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba has fluctuated from one hundred to two hundred million bushels according to the season; and the Grand Trunk has a perfect right to expect the carriage of one-third this total. It must be remembered, too, that the crop of the three Canadian provinces is likely to treble in the next ten years. Now the Grand Trunk has announced that after the opening of Panama it will ship its quota of grain from the Canadian provinces *via* Panama. Its low mountain grades enable it to bring grain down to sea level on the Pacific cheaper than the other roads can reach Atlantic level in the East.

In 1910 Montreal exported twenty million bushels of grain. Supposing in ten years the Grand Trunk is sending twenty million bushels by way of Panama, what will it mean in the saving of freight charges to the West? No one yet knows what the Prince Rupert rate *via* Panama will be; but the standard comparison of rail *versus* water on wheat will do. From Chicago to New York by rail the rate for wheat is ten cents a bushel. From New York to Liverpool the rate is three cents.

Come on down to the great lumber ports of Vancouver and Tacoma and Seattle. What returns do they expect for the millions spent on harbor improvement? For ten years there has been a fight on the lumber rate by rail from these points to the Atlantic seaboard. By schooner round the Horn lumber can be sent east for from \$4.50 to \$5 a ton; by steamer, breaking bulk at Panama, for from \$5 to \$8 according to the company. That means a car rate by water—40,000 pounds to the car—of from \$90 to \$100 for schooners to \$100 and \$160 by steamer. By rail, the rate runs from \$395 to \$407. That is the saving that the lumber shipping ports expect from Panama.

SAN FRANCISCO'S LOSS AND GAIN

On the surface, it looks as if San Francisco would be hurt by Panama. Will not all the Oriental traffic which has hitherto broken bulk at San Francisco to be transshipped across the continent for Europe, will not all this traffic sidestep San Francisco and go direct from the Orient to Europe? It certainly will; and you may write that down as a loss; but look at the other side of the account. California has land, space, and labor for twenty million people. There are less than three million people all told on the Pacific Coast. Now the steerage rate from

the south of Europe for emigrants to Atlantic ports is from \$21 to \$35; and this rate has literally poured hundreds of thousands of immigrants into Atlantic ports. This is the very class of labor—gardeners, small fruit farmers, nut growers, manual workers—for which the Pacific Coast is at its wit's end. Now look at the figures. The steamship companies carrying *via* Panama are already considering an emigrant rate from Mediterranean ports to California of \$40 the trip without a break. Is California mad in reckoning that at last she will get her much needed share of the incoming tide of foreign workers? That Oriental trade at best was but a forwarding business. This will be a permanent traffic, a permanent aggregate to the stable wealth of the Pacific States.

NO MORE RAILROAD OPPOSITION

This probably explains why the railroads, instead of curtailing in anticipation of Panama, are really expanding. Said a representative of the Santa Fé: "You know the gigantic strides the West has made in the past ten years. Well, we consider that is only 20 per cent. of what is possible. It taxes the resources of the railroads to handle the present traffic. My opinion is, Panama will simply relieve us of a great pressure and let us concentrate our efforts in local freight."

Said a representative of the Great Northern: "If all the orchards set out in the West were bearing, not twenty times all the rolling stock that to-day exists could haul the fruit to market."

As to the difference in freight rates to San Francisco, one example is sufficient. One Antwerp liner will carry a ton of grocer's commodities round the Horn for exactly the same amount as it costs to ship that commodity by rail from San Francisco to Los Angeles. In other words, a ton is carried from Antwerp round the Horn, 14,000 miles, for \$7.25. The same ton is hauled by rail 420 miles for from \$7 to \$10.

There is another feature in this Panama traffic that appeals tremendously to San Francisco. Scattered through the Pacific Coast States are bulky commodities that would be a veritable gold mine if they could be put on the Atlantic market cheaply. There are infusorial earths and ores used in smelting. There are salt fields. I know of one where almost pure salt can be shoveled on the wagons as fast as it can be hauled away. Near a market, these salt fields would be worth millions. To-day, at time of writing,

promoters have failed to sell them at any price. With more freight than they can handle and more demand for rolling stock than they can finance, the railroads cannot carry these bulky commodities for less than \$10 or \$16 a ton to the Eastern market. The commodities cannot be worked profitably with a higher freight rate than \$5 a ton. San Francisco hopes, when Panama opens and these bulky commodities find their market, that it will prove a second Yukon.

PORTLAND'S PLANS

As to Portland, nothing needs to be said farther than that she is already one of the big grain shippers of America. With Celilo Canal completed, giving her access to an inland empire for four hundred miles, it is hardly necessary to give any proofs of how she will benefit from Panama. Before the opening of the waterway up the Columbia, the freight rate from Portland to the Dalles used to be \$6.40 a ton on nails. When the river traffic began, the rate dropped to \$2. Where the river steamers run, the rate on salt is \$1.50 for eighty-eight miles. Beyond the steamers, that salt has to carry a rate of \$8 for a hundred miles. In fact, though there are some very sore heads in Portland over the city going into civic stevedoring and civic steamboating, you can set it down that Portland knows exactly what she is doing. The prize she aims at is to bring down the traffic of that inland empire *via* Portland and Panama.

THE CITRUS GROWERS

Down at Los Angeles, Panama is in the very air. Men sleep with and eat with it and walk with it, though all the other cities on the coast may call San Pedro "a frog pond." Los Angeles yearly handles a citrus crop running from \$38,000,000 to \$50,000,000 according to the season. In the shipment of that citrus crop East, \$15,000,000 goes for freight. By water *via* Panama, "we will save \$6,000,000 annually on our oranges and lemons alone," declared Mr. Woodford, the General Manager of the Fruit Growers' Associations. "We have already tried one experimental shipment of oranges to New York by way of Panama. It is 40 per cent. lower than across the continent."

FOREIGN TRADE

Two other prizes the Pacific Coast ports are aiming at in connection with Panama,—

South American trade and Oriental trade. Asia is being modernized, republicanized. Can the Pacific ports make a bid for the trade of the 800,000,000 Orientals? South American trade with the United States totals from six hundred million to a billion a year, imports and exports altogether to all countries to two billions. What is to prevent the United States bidding for that? It's a curious thing and you have to look at a map to understand it; but it is shorter for freight to go down the West coast of South America and be shipped inland from Chile or Peru than to go out round the bulging East coast and be shipped in from the Atlantic.

Two difficulties stand in the way of South American trade,—bad packing and lack of steamers. Said a Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce man who had gone down to investigate conditions: "Unless American goods are packed to stand the shock of two train collisions, do not send them to South America. The stuff falls to pieces. It is not unloaded as we unload. It is just pitched overboard to the docks below."

As to steamers, while six lines run from New York to the Argentine, three English, three American, not a ship has the United States south of Panama on the West coast. Some British companies have as many as

fifteen first-class liners on the West coast of South America. The United States has not one. The difficulty is not in getting a cargo to go to South America. It is in getting a cargo back to United States ports: 479 ships of different flags go annually to the Argentine from the United States; but only 91 come from the Argentine to the United States.

On one other prize the Pacific Coast ports are planning; and the Eastern steamship men, to be perfectly frank, think they will be disappointed. The Pacific ports hope, too, that Panama will bring hundreds of thousands of people as tourists who now go to Europe. They think the sea voyage of thirty days from Atlantic to Pacific will divert traffic from Europe.

"I don't," emphatically declared a big steamship man on the East Coast who is ready to put thirty freighters through Panama when the canal opens. "I don't, and I'll tell you why we shall not put a single passenger liner through Panama. We cannot carry a passenger from New York to San Francisco for less than \$125, the very lowest figure for thirty days or six weeks. Well, the railroads can do the job for \$75 in five days. That settles it as far as practical steamboating is concerned."

THE NEED OF A TARIFF BOARD, OR COMMISSION

BY ALBERT G. ROBINSON

THE result of the method employed in tariff making in this country has invariably been a jumble of economic absurdities arising out of limited information and political compromises.

A concurrent resolution passed by both houses of Congress on August 5, 1909, authorized and directed the preparation, compilation, and indexing of "all the acts heretofore passed by Congress imposing duties on imports." The result is a tome of 1040 pages, 11 inches by 7, containing all the tariff acts from 1789 to 1909, "including all acts, resolutions and proclamations modifying or changing those acts." Act No. 1 is dated July 4, 1789, and Act No. 261 is dated August 5, 1909. If all the committee hearings, investigations and considerations, and all the de-

bates and speeches in Congress, relating to those 261 enactments, were to be collected, compiled, and indexed, they would form a library of imposing proportions and of the dreariest possible contents. Yet, notwithstanding all that has been said and done about the matter, we are perhaps no nearer a satisfactory determination of this persistent and perplexing issue than we were a hundred years ago.

In some of its various features, the question is now even more obscure than it was in earlier days. The processes of production and distribution, and the facilities for communication, in this country and throughout the world, have changed and expanded in ways and to a degree far beyond even the dreams of the economists and legislators of the first

half of the nineteenth century. Some of the false impressions and mistaken notions of earlier times have become, in many minds, fixed convictions equally erroneous and of seemingly hopeless fixity.

There are those of an unshakable belief that without a tariff protection that falls little short of prohibition of imports, this country would sink to a level of social and industrial degradation without parallel in the modern world, and there are those who regard protection in any form or degree as a devilish device for enabling the few to rob the many. These and all the intermediate shades of notion, opinion, and belief are prevalent, but what, after all, do most of us, or perhaps any of us, know of the facts of the matter?

The farmer is confident that without a prohibitive duty on corn, on lard and bacon, on cattle, vegetables, and dairy products, our millions of fertile acres would revert to their original condition of prairie and woodland, and that millions of agriculturists would wander in doleful poverty seeking employment. The flock-masters believe that free wool would shortly make sheep in this country as much of a rarity as are bison. On the other hand, millions believe that a "substantial downward revision" of the tariff would greatly reduce the cost of living, the prices of food and clothing, rents and amusements, and enable them to live well, pay their bills, and put money in the bank. What, after all, do most of us or even any of us really know about the possible or probable or certain influences of the tariff on industrial conditions and the prices of commodities? Our present sources of information and misinformation are limited almost wholly to the outpourings of political partisans and to the conflicting assertions of selfish interests.

THE TARIFF COMMISSION OF 1882

In 1882, a commission was appointed, pursuant to an act of Congress. It was composed of nine members, all chosen from civil life and presumably qualified and equipped for the work given them. As prescribed by the act under which they were appointed, the duties of the commissioners were "to take into consideration and to thoroughly investigate all the various questions relating to the agricultural, commercial, mercantile, manufacturing, mining, and industrial interests of the United States, so far as the same may be necessary to the establishment of a judicious tariff, or a revision of the existing tariff, upon a scale of justice to all interests." The com-

mission was authorized to hold sessions in any part of the country, and was directed to submit its final report at the opening of the Congress in the December following, thus giving the body an actual working term of less than seven months for its organization, investigations, and the preparation of its report. In preparing its tariff law adopted in 1902, Germany consumed five years and gave careful consideration to the views and information of more than 2000 experts.

The time and the expense of the commission of 1882 were practically wasted. Its findings were of little or no service in the preparation of the tariff law of 1883, and of no use whatever as a factor in the solution of the tariff problem in its larger aspects. Since that time we have had the McKinley bill of 1890, the Wilson-Gorman bill of 1894, the Dingley bill of 1897, and the Payne bill of 1909, and we are now as far from an intelligent and scientific tariff as at any time in the history of the country.

THE PRESENT TARIFF BOARD

By an act passed in June, 1910, the present so-called Tariff Board, originally created for a different purpose, was authorized to enlarge its field of activities and to investigate the cost of production of commodities, but the boundaries of the field were vaguely defined. The sum of \$250,000 was appropriated to carry on the work until the close of the fiscal year 1911. In his message of December 6, 1910, the President urged that the then existing board with indefinite duties and limited powers be made a permanent Tariff Commission, "with such duties, powers, and emoluments as it may seem wise for Congress to give." A bill providing for such an institution passed the House in January, 1911; passed the Senate, with a few unimportant amendments, on March 3; and was sent back to the House, on March 4, for concurrence in the amendments. A small minority in that body killed the bill by a filibuster in the closing hours of the session.

An appropriation made while the bill was under consideration provided money for the continuance of the work until July, 1912, and the President, as far as it was possible to do so, put into effect the provisions of the defeated bill. By the addition of two Democrats, the membership of the organization was increased from three to five. Under date of February 28, 1911, the board submitted, in response to a call from the Senate, a report "relative to various commodities named in

the proposed Canadian Reciprocity measure." Under date of December 20, 1911, it submitted to the President a report on wool and woollens. Under date of March 26, 1912, it submitted a synopsis of its report on cotton, followed later by its full report.

The fact must be faced that the achievements of the board have not met the expectations and the hopes of its friends and supporters. But it should be clearly understood that its shortcomings are not chargeable to the board itself. It was given a foolish and impossible task. Its work was set forth in a plank in the party platform of 1908, in a declaration that "in all tariff legislation the true principle of protection is best maintained by the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, together with a reasonable profit to American industries." To the Tariff Board was assigned the work of ascertaining costs of production in this and in other lands. It was thus started on a false trail and, as some of us foresaw and predicted, landed in a jungle of figures of little value for the purpose for which they were gathered.

The reports of the board have been accorded a somewhat perfunctory approval by its friends and have been repudiated and ridiculed by the majority party in the House. The theory of that platform plank is superficially pleasing, but it is fundamentally unsound and economically impossible. Although this assertion is not supported by direct statement in the reports of the board, the evidence and even the proof of its accuracy run through all their pages. Neither in this nor in any other country is there fixity or uniformity in what is commonly known as "cost of production." In no branch of industry is this as sharply emphasized as it is in the lines on which society must depend for its food and clothing.

DIFFERENCES IN COST OF PRODUCTION

Careful investigation by the Department of Agriculture has resulted in reports showing the cost of producing potatoes in the North Atlantic States as 28.1 cents a bushel, and in the North Central States, east of the Mississippi River, as 21.4 cents. These were the figures for 1909. Had a similar investigation been made last year, the cost would have been found to be much greater. The same authority reports the cost of producing corn, in 1909, in the South Atlantic States as 56.1 cents a bushel, and in the North Central

States west of the Mississippi as 31 cents. The department also reports the cost of producing wheat, in the same year, as 84 cents in Pennsylvania, 79 cents in Ohio, 64 cents in Illinois, 55 cents in Nebraska, and 54 cents in California.

The fact is that only an inconsiderable number of our agriculturists and stock-raisers have even a remote idea of the cost of their products. The market prices of those products are regulated by conditions over which they have no control. The price obtained by the Minnesota wheat grower may be determined by the output of Argentina, and the price obtained by the Louisiana sugar grower is practically regulated by the beet-sugar crop in Europe. In its report, the Tariff Board shows the production cost of wool in Idaho as 17.3 cents, in Montana as 13.8 cents, and in Colorado as 8.7 cents.

A report of the Bureau of Corporations shows that the average cost of steel rails in 1905 was \$21.30 a ton, and that the average cost in 1903 was \$23.78. These figures include more than 93 per cent. of the entire rail output of the country. The same bureau states that the lowest average cost of production shown by any one concern for total output in the five years 1902-1906 was \$20.74, and the highest average for any one concern in that time was \$26.61.

In this way it would be easily possible to go through a great majority, practically all, of the producing concerns in the country and show more or less marked differences in production costs of corresponding commodities in different mills, in different localities, at different times. The same conditions exist in all countries. The cost of steel rails differs in the mills of England. The cost of corresponding silk fabrics differs in the mills of France. The cost of chemical products differs in Germany as does the cost of olive oil and macaroni in Italy. A more uncertain and unstable basis for tariff adjustment could hardly be conceived. As clearly shown by Professor Taussig, if difference in cost of production is used as the measure of protection, the interest of American producers is to throw their costs to the highest possible figures.

WHAT DOES THE TARIFF REALLY DO?

The imperative need is not an elaborate and costly investigation of widely differing and frequently changing costs of production, but an intelligent, impartial, and fearless analysis of the tariff itself, its actual influence

on industries and its actual effect on commodity prices. The producers of those commodities believe that they are financially benefited by the tariff on corn, eggs, butter, lard and bacon, and the consumers believe that because of the tariff they must pay advanced prices. Much would be done if, through some responsible official channel, the people of the country could be told the truth about these and scores of other commodities now included in the various schedules, and could be fully assured that it is the truth. From nowhere in the wide world could there possibly come enough of any of the above-mentioned articles to supply this country for a single meal, or enough to affect prices by the smallest fraction of a cent.

By one group, the producers of these commodities have been politically humbugged into a conviction of price benefit, and, by another group, consumers have been politically flimflammed into a conviction of higher prices due to tariff rates. The notion is widespread and deeply rooted in many minds that somewhere outside our boundaries there exist unlimited quantities of every known substance needed or desired by the American people, and that the tariff schedules are the only barrier against an influx of those commodities at prices materially below the cost of producing similar goods and articles here.

For a half-century we have taken the tariff question so seriously that we have been deaf and blind to its multitude of absurdities and to the rank humbuggery that permeates it. The absurdities and the humbuggery have no serious economic results. Nothing goes into the farmer's pocket, and nothing goes out of the consumer's pocket, by reason of the tariff on corn. Nothing whatever would be changed if the present tariff rate of 15 cents a bushel were increased to \$15 or dropped to one-fifteenth of a cent. The need of a board or a commission to study, intelligently and free from any political bias, the tariff itself in its relation to productive industry and commodity prices lies in the many known and more suspected absurdities of this kind.

The consideration most needed is an impossibility for the Congress. The adjustment of rates by a commission is impossible. The nation needs the revenue now derived through the customs. There are industries that need and may reasonably be afforded protection. There are industries that require only a part of the protection now given them, and there are others that need no protection. The political interests of legislators and parties

clearly make impossible any adjustment of tariff rates along exclusively financial and economic lines. Members of Congress have not the time for a work that demands months or years of close and special application. Schedules may be revised and rates may be increased or decreased and the result be only a different and not a better tariff, a mere rearrangement of the groups of the satisfied and the dissatisfied.

HOW ARE PRICES AFFECTED?

Behind any right adjustment of rates there must stand an intelligent public opinion. That can no more be created by the publication of interminable pages of statistics that are difficult of comprehension even by specialists than it can be by a limited circulation of reports of committee hearings and political speeches on the floor of the House and Senate. The demand for revision of the tariff, a demand widespread and persistent, springs almost entirely from the belief that because of excessive rates imposed, the public is compelled to pay excessive prices for many of the wants and requirements of daily life. This is probably the fact in no more than a comparatively limited number of articles, but the belief will exist as long as our methods of tariff making give cause for its existence. It will exist until the public has been shown clearly, fairly and authoritatively the precise effect of tariff rates on the prices of food and clothing, light, heat, and all else necessary for life and for reasonable physical comfort. It will exist as long as the public, or any important part of it, can be led to believe that protected interests, by the protection afforded them, gorge themselves with profits at the expense of their victims, the consumers. This is a widespread notion, but it rests on political assertions and not on authoritatively ascertained facts.

In brief, the tariff will be a bone of political contention, a cause of disturbance and depression in trade and production, until, through the agency of some responsible and politically independent board or commission, the facts of the various industries affected and supposed to be affected have been studied and intelligently reported to the American people. Until there is a wider and clearer public knowledge of the influences and the effects of schedules and of individual rates, the tariff will continue to be the jumble of economic absurdities and political compromises that it has been hitherto and is to-day.

HOW THE BRITISH POST OFFICE GREW

THE story of the British post office since its establishment in the sixteenth century is full of useful and interesting lessons for all Americans who would like to see our own Post Office Department more efficient in the work it already performs and extended into wider fields in the service of the public.

The deliberate, comprehensive and unusually, lucidly told account given in Dr. J. C. Hemmeon's "History of the British Post Office,"¹ published in the "Harvard Economic Studies" series, traces the development of the postal communications in the British Isles from the days when the announcements of state, carried by royal messengers, were the sole means of communication, to the end of the fiscal year 1911. Postal messengers we first find mentioned as early as the reign of King John. They were known as *nuncii*, and were paid out of the household and wardrobe account of the king. They delivered their letters personally.

Sir Brian Tuke is the first English Postmaster-General of whom we have any record. He was known as Master of Posts, and he received a salary of somewhat less than \$350 a year, as is recorded in the King's "Book of Payments" for the year 1512. He named the "post-men" and was held responsible for the performance of their duties. In addition he had to render an account of the horses used in the conveyance of the mail. During the century that followed slow progress was made in the extensions of the service and facilities of the post office. Then in 1628 Thomas Witherings was made "Postmaster-General for Foreign Parts," and a new era began. Witherings' idea was to make the posts self-supporting, and to extend them from the royal service to the service of the ordinary folk. Dr. Hemmeon asserts that Witherings' name is "without doubt the most distinguished in the annals of the British post office." He laid the foundation for the system of a postal rates and regulations which continued to the time of the penny postage. He brought about increased speed of transmission, and above all, he made the post office a financial success. To do this he sought and succeeded in securing legislation which made the income from

private letters go to the state, and not to the postmaster as heretofore.

Meanwhile, domestic, or as the English call it, inland postal service, had not progressed as far as the foreign. Before 1680 there was no post between one part of London and another. In that year William Dockwra, a private individual, organized his London Penny Post, which "in some respects was superior to that of to-day." There were then 179 places in London where letters might be posted. The rate was uniform, payable in advance, and it was permissible to send letters and parcels up to one pound in weight, articles or money to the value of £10 might be sent, and the penny payment insured their safe delivery. The carriers traveled chiefly on foot, but in some of the neighboring towns



THE FIRST POSTMARK ON A BRITISH LETTER

(One of the Dockwra postmarks on a letter written by the Bishop of London to the Lord Mayor, dated December 9, 1681. The first figure shows that, at that time, they were Penny Post letters and that they were prepaid. The "W" in the center of the first figure is the initial letter of the receiving office, Westminster. The second figure shows the hour of arrival at the Westminster office, 9 A.M.)

they rode on horseback. Dockwra was the first to make use of postmarks. The earliest instance of the use of such marks is on a letter dated December 9, 1681, written by the Bishop of London to the Lord Mayor.

According to Dr. Hemmeon, the first proposition for a post office in the American colonies came from New England, in 1638, because "a post office was really so useful and absolutely necessary." Nothing was done by the London government, however, for more than fifty years. In 1691 one Thomas Neale was granted a patent to establish post offices in North America. At about the same time an act was passed by the Colony of Massachusetts, appointing Andrew Hamilton Postmaster-General. Hamilton was afterward retained by Neale as his deputy in North America. When, in 1699, a report was

¹The History of the British Post Office. Harvard Economic Studies, Vol. VII. By Dr. J. C. Hemmeon. Cambridge: Harvard University. 271 pp. \$2.

made to the House of Lords, it was found that Neale and Hamilton had established a regular weekly post between Boston and New York and New York and Newcastle, Pa. There were postmasters in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. The first part of the eighteenth century saw the extension of the postal system in the British colonies and an important growth in the packet service, based on England's increased foreign trade. At this time also the system of mail coaches was established, and there was a consolidation of offices and much greater coöperation.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the British post office was used as an instrument of taxation. Rates were forced so high that ordinary citizens often resorted to legal and illegal means to evade paying them. A number of reformers argued, in the public prints, that "a tax upon correspondence was not only a poor method of raising money, but its ulterior effect in restricting letter writing was productive of undesirable results upon the people of England industrially and socially." Eventually, the popular cause, championed chiefly by Sir Rowland Hill, forced itself upon the attention of the government, and low and uniform rates of postage for the United Kingdom were agreed upon. Thus, in 1840, the famous Inland Penny Postage was ushered in. Among the numerous changes which have characterized the development of the British post office since 1840 are: (1) Successive reductions in rates; (2) abandonment of the packet-boat service by the admiralty to private enterprise; (3) the extension and use of railways; (4) the establishment of a parcels post; (5) the embarking of the government in banking and insurance facilities (postal savings banks) "for the thrifty person of small means." The most radical departure in British postal methods during the past decade has been the acquisition of the telegraph and telephone systems.

The earliest proposal for government ownership of the telegraphs of Great Britain seems to have originated with Thomas Allan, who was later instrumental in establishing the United Kingdom Telegraph Company. In 1854 he proposed to the government, through Sir Rowland Hill, the acquisition of the telegraph systems, but without securing favorable action. A number of other proposals were submitted in 1864 and 1866. In 1868 the Postmaster-General was given authority, by act of Parliament, to begin the taking over of the telegraph systems of the United Kingdom. A uniform rate was at once introduced and other facilities afforded.



RT. HON. HERBERT LOUIS SAMUEL, THE BRITISH
POSTMASTER-GENERAL

In 1875 England joined the other important European powers in a general telegraphic agreement, and in 1908 a working agreement was brought about between the Post Office and the Marconi Wireless Company.

The first telephone was brought to England by Lord Kelvin in 1876. The first company, which had developed its operations successfully by 1878, tried to come to an agreement with the post office, but the negotiations came to nothing. A series of agreements and understandings between the post office and the larger telephone systems covered the period between 1878 and 1905. By the terms of an agreement made in the latter year, the Postmaster-General, on the last day of December, 1911, was directed to buy, and the National Telephone Company to sell, all the "physical resources, equipment and business of the telephone company." Improvement in rates and extension of facilities followed this agreement as in the arrangement between the post office and telegraph systems. Dr. Hemmeon states that from a financial point of view, government ownership of telegraph and telephone systems of the United Kingdom has not been a success, but he testifies to the betterment of the service and cheapening of the rates.



THE SCRIPTURAL PLAY OF "NOAH'S ARK," AS PRESENTED BY THE SHIPWRIGHTS' GUILD, IN ENGLAND, FOUR CENTURIES AGO

(Model in the Dramatic Museum at Columbia University. The ark is seen drawn up in the village square, with Noah looking out of the window. Once a year, at a religious festival, the guilds produced elaborately scenes from the Bible, to which people from the surrounding country would flock. The settings for the different plays, mounted on wheels, would be driven in succession into the square. As soon as the first play was acted through, the wagon was driven to the next station, where the performance was repeated. The spectators at any one point, without moving, might thus witness a long succession of scenes)

THE DRAMATIC MUSEUM AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

BY DUDLEY H. MILES

THE first dramatic museum to be established in this country and the only one in the world except that in the library of the Paris Opéra—such, conservatively stated, is a recent development in the Department of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University in New York City.

This museum has an even better claim to consideration. It inaugurates the scientific method of studying dramatic history. Plays, printed and bound up in volumes, have too long been treated in college courses as mere literature. To study them in the library is to miss their true character. In reality, all the greatest plays were written to entertain or engross an audience seated in some kind of theater, whether it be one under the open sky, hewed from the solid rock of the hillside, as in ancient Athens, or a luxuriously furnished room in modern New York seating only 299 persons. Obviously, the author

who had in mind the Greek amphitheater would write a much different play from the man who knew that every change of the actor's facial expression could be seen from the back row. A scientific study of the drama takes account of this influence of theatrical conditions on the plays of any age or country.

It is exactly such a scientific method which has at length been made easy for students by the famous institution on Morningside Heights. On the third floor of its new Hall of Philosophy, now occupied by the graduate schools of literature, two spacious rooms are set aside for this unique and significant development, which has been named, by a resolution of the Board of Trustees at the March meeting of this year, the Brander Matthews Dramatic Museum, in honor of the well-known Columbia professor of dramatic literature who has secured its establishment.



THE ENGLISH THEATER OF THREE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

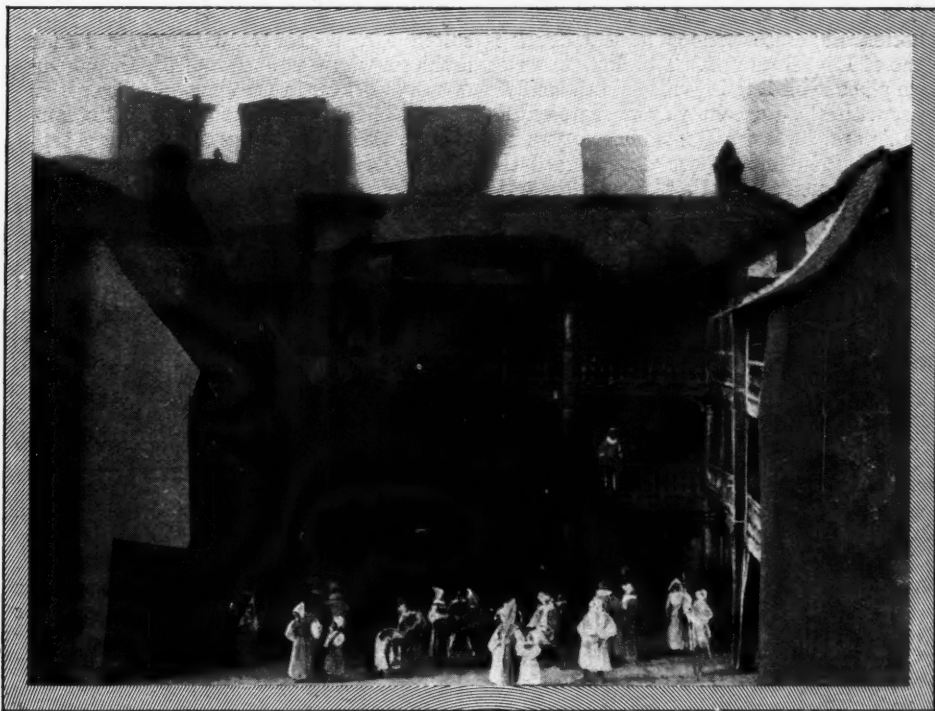
(This remarkable model of the Fortune Theater in the Dramatic Museum shows the kind of stage for which Shakespeare's plays were written. The only indication of the setting for the different scenes was a throne or other stage properties situated at the rear. Most of the acting took place forward, where the actor was surrounded on three sides by the audience. That accounts in part for the many long speeches in Shakespeare. A play was then more of an oratorical contest than it is to-day. The galleries, it will be noticed, are the only parts roofed in. The performances were all matinées in broad daylight)

The larger of the two rooms has been reserved for the library of the museum. Among books of all sorts bearing on the history of the dramatic arts, two special collections call for notice. One, containing some 500 plays of American authorship, is equalled only by the C. Fiske Harris library at Brown University. The other, of about 200 volumes, is considered the largest gathering, outside the British Museum, of books relating to the celebrated English dramatist of the eighteenth century, Richard Brinsley Sheridan. Eventually the museum will receive the remainder of the dramatic library which Professor Matthews has been accumulating for forty years, including all his material about the great French comic genius Molière—a collection which, if equalled at all, is equalled only by the one in the Harvard College Library or by the library of Mr. Chatfield-Taylor in Chicago.

The unique feature of the museum, in which is to be found its chief educational

and scientific value, is the model-room opening into the library. Upon the walls are a score of engravings, some representing special performances, such as Molière at his last appearance and an old French mystery play being acted in the shadow of the village cathedral; others showing actors in character in the costumes of the period; and a few depicting theaters either from within or without. A great deal of additional graphic material to illustrate the history of the stage is kept in draws—such as plans of theaters, photographs of performances, and portraits of distinguished dramatists. The principal objects in the room, however, are a group of models which illustrate certain steps in the development of the drama.

The nucleus of the group is a reproduction of the stage on which a medieval mystery play was acted. Three manuscripts of a passion play presented at Valenciennes in 1547 contain illuminated or colored drawings of the platform on which the drama was pro-



THE THEATER IN SHAKESPEARE'S BOYHOOD

(This interesting model in the Dramatic Museum shows how the forerunners of the present road companies presented their plays in the court-yard of a village inn. There was of course no scenery, nor any considerable use of "make-up" or costume. Yet the visit of the strolling troupe gathered a goodly audience on the galleries about the court. That may have been occasioned partly because the play was supposed to be educational. "The Nice Wanton," which the model represents, had such characters as Iniquity, Vice, Worldly Shame, and presented the life of man from the cradle to the grave to impress the truth that the wages of sin is death)

duced. When the French Government was preparing its exhibit for the Paris Exposition of 1878, it included a special collection of sets of scenery. Among them was a model of this Valenciennes play, constructed from a drawing in the manuscripts under the direction of a noted authority on medieval drama, M. Marius Sepet.

From this reproduction it was clear even to the uninitiated that in that far-away age there was no attempt to produce illusion. The art of the theater was seen to be vastly different from what it is to-day. There was no effort to make the stage look like a room in an actual house, or to use back curtains so painted as to deceive the eye into thinking it was gazing at mountains miles in the distance. On the contrary, a dozen or a score of different places might be shown or rather indicated at once, and indicated in a very summary way. A chair between two columns became the great hall of a royal palace. Four trees represented a forest. A pool of

twenty square feet was called at one time the Sea of Tiberius, at another the Mediterranean. Thus, on a single multiple stage, as it may be termed, were indicated enough places to furnish forth a course of action lasting all day, for frequently the plays were of such duration.

Several years ago Professor Matthews obtained permission to have an exact duplicate of the Paris model of this instructive medieval setting made by MM. Duvignaud and Gabin, the makers of the original. This was the beginning of the present museum. A few years later Mr. E. Hamilton Bell gave the university the second model, a representation of the famous Palais-Royal theater, built by Richelieu in 1639 and occupied after 1661 by the Shakespeare of France, Molière, and his company. Thus stage conditions in two flourishing periods of French dramatic history are illustrated so clearly that any one who has been inside a playhouse can understand how dramas were produced in those distant times.

The other three models at present in the museum illustrate periods in the development of English drama. The first shows an open place in an English village in the middle ages, with the pageant wagon representing Noah's ark. From a glance or two you see that the English in those days placed the setting for each scene of a play on a separate wagon, instead of putting all of them together on one platform, as the French across the Channel were doing at the same period. When the scene had been acted, the wagon drove away to give place to the next scene, and so on, until in some cases the whole extent of biblical history was acted before the throng of onlookers.

The second model represents the courtyard of an English inn some time during the sixteenth century, with its surrounding galleries, from which spectators are looking down on a performance of the strolling actors who are playing "The Nice Wanton," a morality play popular "on the road" four centuries ago. These two sets are reproductions of the stage settings shown at the New Theater, New York, in the spring of 1911. They were made by Mr. Joseph Wickes under the direction of Mr. E. Hamilton Bell, and were presented to the museum by Mr. Winthrop Ames. The third model reproduces the Fortune Theater built in London in 1600.

This last model is the most important of all because it shows the kind of stage on which Shakespeare's plays were performed. The contract and specifications for the building of the Fortune Theater in Golden Lane, London, between Edward Alleyn and his father-in-law, Philip Henslowe, of the first part, and Peter Street, carpenter and builder, of the second part, are still extant among the Alleyn papers preserved in Dulwich College. At several places in the document appear phrases like this: "The said stage to be in all other proportions contrived and fashioned like unto the stage of the saide Plaie-house called the Globe." Now the Globe was built in 1599, and was used by Shakespeare and his company for ten years. Here, then, is a chance to determine for what kind of stage our greatest poet and dramatist devised his immortal plays.

Mr. William Archer, a distinguished critic of the acted drama, saw this, arguing that if Peter Street in 1600 could erect the edifice from the specifications, any competent builder and contractor could reconstruct

it just as well in 1907. He accordingly consulted Mr. Walter H. Godfrey, a London architect who was familiar with the customs of woodworkers in the days of Queen Elizabeth. The architect and the critic found that it was indeed easy to prepare a set of plans and cross-sections—plans which aroused among scholars a great deal of discussion. From them, at the special request of Professor Matthews, Mr. James P. Maginnis constructed an elaborate model, perfect in all its details and open in the center, so that its interior is wholly displayed. When it was exhibited in London last summer, regret was expressed that it could not remain in England.

As is evident from the photograph here reproduced, it shows at a glance how much theaters have changed since 1600. The size, to be sure, was about the same as to-day. The galleries seated nearly 1200. The orchestra, or pit, all devoted to standing-room, accommodated only 400. This was because the stage, although of about the dimensions of one in the present theater of moderate size, projected halfway into the pit. The acting was always in daylight. The setting was even more summarily indicated than in the French mystery play. There was no scenery. The same stage, by a little shifting of properties, such as chairs or trees, might indicate anything from a throne-room to a primeval forest.

From this brief account and from the photographs, the value of the Dramatic Museum even in its present incomplete state must be obvious. When the group of historically accurate models of typical theaters from the golden age of Greek tragedy to a modern spectacular production like "The Garden of Allah" is complete, students will be able to understand in a few minutes what poring over many volumes might not make clear in a month. Then drama, which has always been profoundly influenced by the kind of stage on which it was to be produced, can be studied at Columbia University in a scientific manner. That is, the different types of drama that have developed in the last twenty-five centuries can be before long be studied in connection with the theater in which each type was performed. Even now a half hour spent in examining the model of the Fortune Theater will explain many of the differences between the plays of Shakespeare and those of Sir Arthur Pinero or Mr. Augustus Thomas.

THE NEW WOMAN OF THE NEW EAST

[One of the most significant and deep-reaching developments of the modern spread of liberalism and social progress is the awakening restlessness of the women of the Orient. The Oriental woman has farther to go than the woman of the West, but she has already taken the first steps in the direction of a larger participation in the life of her people. In Japan and China women are attending the universities, entering into business and professions, and already taking an active part in public life. The reformer, Kang-Yu-wei, in his book "A Criticism of the Chinese Classics," called attention, many years ago, to the fact that the raising of the status of woman has always been an essential part of the spread of democracy. It is more than half a century since women began to be educated in China. This was when the missionary movement had attained important proportions. Two decades ago a crusade began against the binding of the feet, which was a great step forward. In 1907 the government formally recognized the right of women to education and began to plan schools for girls. A newspaper edited by women was one of the first developments of the woman movement in China. In March of this year the hall of the National Assembly of the new Republic at Nanking was made the scene of a violent demonstration by militant Chinese suffragettes, discontented with the measure of "emancipation" granted them by the new régime. We print here a striking article on this subject by a Japanese journalist and writer of authority, many of whose articles on Far Eastern topics have already appeared in these pages.]

Social regeneration in India is going on swiftly and steadily. The whole mass is being affected by the leaven of social reform. In this social revolution,—for nothing short of that term can express the exact situation,—the Hindu woman is playing a most heroic part. We have, from time to time, in these pages, printed articles (notably those written by Mr. Saint Nihal Singh and Professor W. M. Zumbro) showing the economic, political, and educational progress being made in India. Our second article, by a Hindu student at one of our Western American universities, shows how "with the purification of her marriage institution, the elevation of the status of woman and the depressed classes, the breaking down of the walls of caste, the spread of liberal and scientific education, and the diffusion of the rays of Western culture, India is being born anew, quite transfigured and prepared to take her legitimate place among the great nations of the world." All the rest of the vast continent of Asia is experiencing the stirrings of the woman movement. The languorous ladies of Persia are stirring, and in Turkey and Egypt they are already awake. Altogether it is a vast and portentous movement.—THE EDITOR.]

THE NEW WOMAN IN CHINA AND JAPAN

BY ADACHI KINNOSUKE

THE Chinese revolution has already done many remarkable things. Setting up a republic in the ancient home of autocracy is not the most amazing of its performances. What is more significant, especially in the eyes of the future East, and more surprising and, withal, thoroughly natural, is this: It has staged the New Woman of the New East,—staged her dramatically.

In the bitter month of March, 1911, at Peking, just outside of the great Chengyang Gate, a girl was beheaded. She was a revolutionist. She was one of the victims on the altar of the New China that was being born. Her execution attracted a great deal of attention, which was rather surprising because in those days the executions of revolutionaries were almost too common to merit even a passing nod from newspapers.

This girl was an actress. The name of Chin Chilan on the bill-boards had attracted a large house at the tea-halls everywhere from Tientsin to Canton. Chin Chilan was not her real name. She had been sold to a slave

dealer when she was a mere tot. It was said that she was a daughter of a farmer of Suchau. Nobody believed it. Her beauty, which gave flesh and color to the century-long dreams of many a classic Chinese poet, and in such a striking, generous way, gave the lie to this talk of her humble birth. Her admirers were as many as bees and as devoted and she made a great deal of money. People wondered what she did with it. Because early in her professional career, she was sometimes found in the company of a revolutionist called Hung, the Peking government kept an eye on her for a long time. Government detectives failed to trap her. Then, very suddenly, all North China was filled with "dark talks" over the murder of a wealthy merchant from Paoting-fu whom Chin Chilan had met at Tientsin, where she had played in 1910 with a large company of her own. Gossip entangled her name with the murder of the Paoting-fu merchant. It was widely known that the merchant had spent 3000 taels for one night's entertain-

ment given in honor of the actress; and that he had been desperately in love with her—as indeed were most of her admirers. The authorities unearthed the fact that the actress had sent large sums of money from time to time through secret channels to her comrades in the United States for the purchase of arms and ammunition—and for the revolutionary cause! Her fate was sealed.

She was not alone. She was merely one of many among the women of China who have devoted themselves and who are working for the cause of the New China. The striking thing about the women revolutionists of China is that they seem to be among the most reckless and daring of the "agnostics-of-the-value-of-life" company. In the premature uprising of April, 1911, in Canton, three well-dressed girls were found knocking at the door of a house which was watched by the detectives. On the barest suspicion they were arrested. At the police headquarters the officers were dumfounded at the sight of cartridges in belts wound all over the bodies of the girls. They were veritable walking arsenals!

Of the stories of the women victims of the revolution none has touched the hearts of the people on both sides of the Yellow Sea more than that of Chuchin. She was from Nanking, the only daughter of a wealthy merchant who had left his entire fortune to the child at his death. She studied English under a Chinese scholar named Enming. She went over to Tokyo and studied at the Jissen Girls' School. It was under Enming and in her Tokyo days that she came under the influences of the prophets of the Young China movement. She took the entire fortune left her by her father and put it into the treasury of the revolutionists and devoted her life to the cause. Then, as if she were not satisfied with anything short of the most perilous deed, she undertook the work of smuggling arms, ammunition and dynamite bombs into China.

Sparing of words and gentle as the zephyr in her manners, she looked like a rose-leaf on a whirlpool. And the gentle appearance was the secret of her sensational success at the dangerous trade. Her former teacher, Enming, became later the head of Police of Nanking. In 1908, he sprang the scandal and surprise of the year, known as the Anhwei case. He shot and killed the Manchu Governor. It was in connection with this case that Chuchin was arrested and tried. She knew that her days were numbered. When the judge asked her if she had anything to say in her defense, she produced a statement

of ten closely written pages. They were written in English! Of course, the judge could not read a word of it. To him she did not care to make the slightest explanation. Her statement was for the world at large; and it could understand her better in English than in Chinese.

Madame Su is well known in Tokyo. She is a Cantonese and sixty-five years of age. She is a familiar figure at almost all the public gatherings of the Chinese students in Tokyo—not as an audience, however.

As a public speaker, she could hardly ask for a much more flattering laurel than the one she received at the second great People's Gathering, as the Chinese revolutionists called the mass meeting which they held in Tokyo. One thousand two hundred Chinese students listened to her address, and when she told them of the wrongs their country had suffered at the hands of the Manchu tyrants and appealed to their "love-country" heart, there was not a dry eye in the hall.

If the sight of the sixty-five-year-old Chinese lady swaying the 1200 Chinese students from a public platform is a shock to the Occidental conception of the Chinese woman wobbling on her "golden lotus" feet, then there is something out of tune somewhere—but not with the fact.

Madame Su was not the only oratress of the revolution. There were the Wu sisters. The elder, who was one and twenty then, was called Wu Jenan. She attended the Aoyama Ladies' Seminary, and her sister, Wu Yanan, aged 19, went to school to the Japanese-French-English Girls' School at Surugadai. The sisters were well known to Tokyo audiences. It were a cold house indeed which could sit unmoved when from the flower lips of the young women fell the bitter words of denunciation against the wickedness and crimes of the Manchu usurpers at Peking. If you were to take the words of the Chinese students these sisters were and are by far the most eloquent advocates of the revolutionary cause. Perhaps their beauty, which is as striking as their words, has something to do with the judgment. These sisters are not in Tokyo to-day. Some time before the Hankau uprising, they sailed for London. And there in England, as in Tokyo, they were reported to be working with the same white-hot zeal setting the hearts of their Chinese sisters on fire for the New China that is being born.

While these flower lips are giving words to the thoughts of the Young China, others, like Miss Ying, are doing more than mere speak-



SUE YI YAT
(A Chinese girl, born in America, who
has entered a military school
in China)

DR. MARY STONE (SHI MA-LI-A)
(A successful physician who in a single
year has treated nearly
16,000 patients)

DR. KIN
(Who for twenty years has been engaged
in reorganizing the hospital
system of China)

REPRESENTATIVE "NEW WOMEN" OF CHINA

ing. A body of Red Cross nurses sailed from the Japanese metropolis for the front on November 19, 1911. Among them were nine Chinese girls. They had been attending medical schools in Tokyo. They are the young Chinese women who had decided to take up professional life.

As a matter of historical fact, the new woman of China is not quite new. The position of women among the Chinese has always been high. The late Empress Dowager, who, in her time, received a deal of free advertisement, not of the kindest brand (and Heaven and Earth know, or should know, that Mrs. Conger's estimate of the Dowager Empress is much nearer the truth than those horrid nightmares fashioned out of whole cloth by some copy-manufacturing newspaper imagination)—the Imperial Lady was no more a freak and exception among the dowager empresses of China than she was a monster. In Japan, the abdication of a sovereign in favor of his successor has been common. In China it was rarely practiced. Naturally, during the minority of the reigning sovereign a

Dowager Empress has always been the sovereign de facto. And that was precisely what happened to the late Dowager Empress.

Mr. Okuda, while he was serving as the Third Secretary to the Japanese Embassy at Peking, made a careful study of the social and commercial life of China and wrote a book. He says that petticoat government is a general thing in China; that the position of her women is even higher than that of her Occidental sisters. "China is the country which respects and values her women exceedingly," he declares. "A country where woman's power is strong. Even among the lower classes the husband cannot lay a violent hand on the wife, and the matrimonial quarrel has only one end invariably,—the victory for the wife."

THE NEW WOMAN OF JAPAN

The same cannot be said of the women of Japan—especially in recent times. There men have played the part of tyrants; they have behaved shamefully, scandalously,

abominably and in any number of other wicked ways toward the women. The strange thing about it all is that the silly, base, unforgivable abuses of men have resulted in a wonderful thing—the most winning feminine graces in the known world. A Japanese man has no business saying this. It is not appreciated in this “blow-your-own-horn-age” of advertisements. He needn’t say it. All the foreign students of Japan and her life are of one opinion on this point. One enthusiast has put himself down in black and white after the following manner: “How sweet the Japanese woman is! All the possibilities of the race for goodness seem to be concentrated in her. It shakes one’s faith in some Occidental doctrines. If this be the result of suppression and oppression, then these are not altogether bad.”

This also is true. The brain of Japan has largely been with her women, quite as much as with her men. Murasakishibu is the name of our Chaucer; Murasakishibu is not a name of a man, but of a lady of court. Sei Shonagon, another court lady, is the author of perhaps the most perfect model of the classic literature of Yamato, known as Makura Zoshi. Ise, Izumi Shikibu, Koshikibu, Akazoe-emon can easily be our Keats, Shelley or Sappho. The oldest chronicle of the Japanese empire extant is called Kojiki—the Record of Ancient Things. It was dictated by a lady called Hieda Are,—whose scholarly memory was the wonder of the age.

In the Augustan age of Japanese statesmanship, Hojo Masako reigned on the dais of the Shogun. She was called the Nun Shogun, because she had shaved her head at the death of the founder of the Hojo Shogunate, her husband. She did not wish to mingle with mankind, now that her husband had passed into the Shadow World. She was forced to take the dais. Why? For the simplest of reasons. Among the shining company of famous statesmen of the time, there was no star brighter in administrative ability than her own. The Great Ieyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, which ruled the empire for two and a half centuries until 1868, when the present Emperor was restored to the throne, leaned upon Kasugano Tsubone and her judgments far more than on any of his Elders. This statement is not from the secret memoirs of the Shogun’s court; it is written in all authentic histories worthy the name. The influences and power of court ladies on the Tokugawa politics were greater than many authentic histories are willing to admit. Often great Elders of the Shogun

and ministers of state as well as powerful daimyo were nothing but puppets of which their white fingers held the strings.

As if statecraft, literature, scholarship were not quite varied and wide enough a realm to express herself, the Japanese woman went into a very much masculine occupation of war. There is not a school boy in all Japan who does not know that the first captain who led the Nippon forces beyond the seas and with success was the Empress Jingo. Tomoe Gojen is a romantic figure in the military annals of our feudal times. And Princess Oyama—who was educated at Vassar, by the bye, and is the wife of Prince Oyama, commander-in-chief of the Japanese army in the Russian war—can tell many a thrilling tale of the part the samurai women took in the defense of Wakamatsu Castle, in which she was a mere child, but no mere spectator.

With such heritage as this, it is not so surprising that the women of Japan did worthy things when Opportunity, coming on the heels of Commodore Perry from the United States, opened the shoji and smiled at them.

WOMAN PHYSICIANS

It was in 1884 that Hagino Yoshi-ko opened her campaign against the male monopoly of the medical profession in Japan. Her aggressive activity brought forth fruits meet unto her ambition and in a remarkably short time. It resulted in the revision of the regulations governing the official examination of candidates for the practice of medicine. And Dr. Washiyama Yayoi was one of the first exponents of the movement.

The number of woman physicians to-day is not large; there are not more than 250 women in actual practice in the entire Empire. What is big about this is the future. In the Women’s Medical School of Tokyo, alone, there are 250 students. If the number of the women physicians of Japan be comparatively small, their high standing tells a different tale. Dr. Yoskioka Yayoi stands in the very first rank of the profession. She came to Tokyo from the Shizuoka Prefecture, and was one of the first girl students of medicine in Japan. She is now at the head of a medical school and of a hospital all her very own. And they are not small either. Her school on Kawada Street in Ushigome Ward of the City of Tokyo was established eight years ago and has an enrollment of over 300 students; about one-half of the number board in the dormitory attached to the school. Her professional life is a shock and a revela-

tion to any one who conjures up the charming picture of a pair of long butterfly sleeves flirting with tea cups under the scented canopy of cherries in bloom, in connection with the woman of Japan. Every morning, on the average, no less than eighty patients come to see her at her office. Dr. Yoshioka is married to a physician, who is widely known as—the husband of Dr. Yoshioka. That, too, in Japan, mind you! He is one of the instructors of her own medical school and perfectly happy.

Dr. Mayeda Sono is another of the prominent woman physicians of Tokyo. She has had wide and practical experiences both in Japan and in the government hospital in Korea. She is a widow and shoulders the support of her family and her father with comfort and distinction.

WOMEN AS SCHOOL TEACHERS

There are in Tokyo to-day about 2900 school teachers. Of this number, 1100 are women; not quite have women dethroned men in this kindly field of human endeavor, nor yet have they halved the empire—but very nearly so. It is very certain that no name of the more conceited gender could be written much higher than that of Shimoda Uta-ko. Her record at the Peeresses' School in Tokyo is already a classic tradition. She has maintained a rather un-Japanese life-condition of single blessedness,—minus boasting and with the ever-ready admission of regrets. Having no children of her own, she has tried—and succeeded in a marvelous measure—to mother the girl students who came to her. In the classroom, hers was the "mother-and-child" attitude throughout. Even while she was not feeling in good health she never thought of missing her classes, unless she was actually down in bed. For the reason that her girls would have been so disappointed to miss her. With her, teaching is a passion. She loves schoolroom lecturing as she dislikes public platforms.

JAPANESE WOMEN AS ORATORS

And yet Miss Shimoda ranks very high as a public speaker. She has been spoken of as another Ito—meaning the late Prince Ito, who was very fond of hearing the music of his own voice in his day and, what is more to the point, had a large number of friends who felt the same way. In fact, there is only another lady who can even pretend to stand on the same plane with Shimoda Uta-ko. Her

name is Mrs. Hatoyama. Mrs. Hatoyama is familiar, happy, witty, even chatty on a public platform. She speaks very rapidly, and is famous as one of the Dreaded Trio of stenographic reporters, with Mr. Shimada and Professor Tsuboi. She thinks clearly, her sentences are limpid as a mountain rill, and rush down the theme with a silver melody of her own. She is not at all emotional; she does not let her personality dominate her speeches, as does Shimoda Uta-ko. She goes to the heart of the subject with the incisiveness and clarity of "one splitting a bamboo." She has small patience with oratorical tricks of any type—she just talks; talks from her heart to her hearers' hearts, through the heart of the things she is talking on. Because of her ease and sparkling wit on a platform, she is spoken of as another Count Okuma among the women orators of the country.

WOMAN WRITERS OF THE NEW NIPPON

There is something wrong with the woman writers of the New Nippon to-day. Throughout the Empire, there is no lack of clever authors, and a number of young women are actually invading the editorial offices of newspapers and magazines. But when one looks for a shining name of sufficient magnitude to outshine such male stars as Bimyo, Rohan, Koyo, Futabatei, or any one of a dozen others in the same exalted company, he stares into a void,—save for one brief and bright meteor. Her name was Higuchi Natsu-ko. She wrote under the brush name of Ichiyo. Born in Tokyo, in 1872, she died at the age of twenty-five. The gods must have loved her exceedingly. She began her writing career in 1892 and death closed it in 1896 and in that brief period she achieved "Muddy Stream," "Passing Clouds," "Parting Ways" and about twenty other stories. "There is nothing of that philosophic pose of Rohan about her," wrote perhaps the most gifted literary critic of those days, Takayama Chogyu, "neither are there the world-wise airs of Koyo. Yet—yet, there is magic in her observation; in her letters, divinity dwells. Her heaven-talent towers aloft!"

BUSINESS WOMEN OF JAPAN

But a man who looks for the most picturesque romances in the actual life of Nippon of to-day should certainly go among the business women of the country; among those women whose brilliant business talents are an eternal wonder to bearded males—they

whom the newspapers are ever delighted to advertise under the militant title of "Lady Generals."

Take the career of the mistress of the Seijuntei, the Blue Clouds Restaurant.

Fujimori Ume-ko,—for that is her name,—was the youngest of eight children and lost her father when she was five. At the age of twelve, she was sent out into the world to work for food and raiment and, more, to help as best she could toward the support of her mother. She was different from the very start, they say. She worked in such a whole-hearted, altogether cheerful way that her mistress fell in love with her. At twenty-one, she joined one of her elder sisters in the profession of the geisha. Her remarkable personal charms counted for much there; and her ever-cheerful temperament was more than gold or precious stones in paving her way to success.

Unlike so many of her sister artists, she worked, smiled, and saved money. One fine morning, she took a good steady look in the face of the future, smiled at it with her usual optimism and quit the profession of professional entertainer. She did something besides; she married a young fellow with whom she started a little restaurant in the City of Nagano, in the heart of deep mountains of Shinano. She christened the restaurant, Seijun-tei, the House of Blue Clouds. Blue clouds have always stood for winged ambition among the classic poets of China and Japan. Political fever was high in Shinano, then; and the City of Nagano was the political capital of the prefecture. It was there the people gathered to elect the representatives to the Imperial Diet at Tokyo.

The mistress of the Blue Clouds with admirable enterprise rose to the height where Opportunity beckoned her. Her pleasant personality told even more than the good cooking of the Blue Clouds. In no time she amassed a modest fortune. In those days, Nagano City had not a restaurant big enough to accommodate three, four hundred guests at a public banquet. That was another challenge from the gods. She answered it to the "eternal open mouths" of the city by purchasing a large tract of land and building an imposing structure upon it. The Blue Clouds sign-board took a high jump. It was beyond the imagination of the good people of Nagano City that a mere restaurant should have the temerity to house itself in such an imposing structure. Fujimori Ume-ko was rewarded for her daring and foresight. In a few years she amassed 200,000

yen—which is half as many American dollars. That in itself was a big fortune in Nagano, especially for a little woman who started with practically no capital and in the modest trade of a restaurant-keeper. It was then that her young husband—who, by the bye, had very little to do with the building up of business and fortune—lost his head. He made a plunge. He made a number of deep-water plunges into all sorts of enterprises of which he had not the slightest knowledge; he "put out his hand" at this and that and the other things and became an expert in forgetting to tell his wife about his ventures. Her protests had too many points in them to be comfortable for him. When he awoke off and on, and found himself deeper in the mire than ever, as he was bound to find himself in the natural and most logical course of things, he went deeper still in his frantic efforts to make good his losses. After expending the major portion of the fortune made by his wife, he died with the indebtedness—the indebtedness of which he found it so convenient to forget telling his wife—of over one hundred thousand yen!

What did the mistress of the Blue Clouds do under the circumstances? She did not waste a single tear. She took a good long fresh look into the future; saw it smiling at her as usual; she smiled back at it and—went ahead. She paid back her husband's debts; and she had to take many a day off her business in hunting up the creditors, for the creditors (although this sounds utterly incredible) out of admiration for the courage and ability of the woman, and, moreover, being in no wise worried about the debt being paid by her, sometime, did not wish to harass her in the hour of her trials. And today? The mistress of the Blue Clouds, they say, is richer than ever before. Had Fujimori Ume-ko staged her activities in Tokyo instead of in the mountain-screened city of Nagano, her "blue cloud dreams" would have winged higher. Such at least is the consensus of competent criticisms—so high indeed that the famous "lady generals" in the capital city, such as the mistresses of the Fuki-ro and of the Hisago-ya, can hardly "reach up to her finger tips."

The story of Mrs. Yamazaki Kesa-ko is not a whit less romantic than that of the mistress of the Blue Clouds. Mrs. Yamazaki at the age of twelve used to peddle charcoal through the village streets of Ueda in Shinano. To-day, she handles hundreds of thousands of yen as the business head of perhaps the biggest drug store in Tokyo (called Tei-

koku-do) and its many branch shops. She looks after more than fifty clerks and servants and keeps them busy; she attends to the funds, books, and management of the shop; attends to domestic as well as export orders and their shipments and to office correspondence besides. Her husband is the president of the Nippon Drug Stock Company and the head of the Tokyo Drug Export Merchants' Association, and is identified with a number of other organizations. To-day he leaves the practical administration of the drug store almost entirely in the care of his wife. The diplomatic end of the business is about the only thing he attends personally. And what he is to-day is largely due to the efforts of Madame Yamazaki. When the young couple started in life, they had not a cent; they worked together. They borrowed fifty yen (\$25) to start a little drug shop in a back street, in Kanda Ward, Tokyo. Mr. Yamazaki is more of a chemist than a business man; and the little shop lingered in the shadow of failure for many a dark moon. It was then that the young wife took to the peddling of toilet articles and perfumery

by day with a three-year-old child clinging to her sleeve or in her arms; and by night sat far beyond midnight with the sewing which she took in to help out. Immediately after the first flush of success her husband was taken down with a serious illness and lay abed for nearly two years. The wife rose level with the need. She took the road herself, fought against the shrewd campaign of her competitors and laid the foundation of the supremacy that the Teikoku-do enjoys to-day throughout the Empire and through Korea and Manchuria.

These are individual and altogether striking cases. These women are exceptional in their ability and successes. But no peak hangs in mid-air. Even as there is a mass of American women back of Miss Jane Addams, with similar ideals, endeavors, achievements differing only in magnitude, so there is a great number of women in every nook and corner of the Empire of Japan who are traveling, with more or less success, along similar paths and toward the same heights beacons by these remarkable women whose stories I have tried to tell.

WOMAN'S PART IN INDIA'S SOCIAL ADVANCE

BY BASANTA KOOMAR ROY

EARLY marriage is one of the greatest evils of Hindu society. The girls are generally married and become mothers, in many cases, at an age when they should be in school. The girl mothers often die in childbirth or their health is shattered for the rest of their lives. The boy husbands are hampered in many instances in their future careers by the responsibility of supporting a family, and quite often are obliged to subject themselves to drudgery which, but for their marriage, they could have escaped. Early marriage stands in the way of education, especially of the girls.

The custom of early marriage is changing fast. Now the Hindu boys refuse to marry until they have finished their education and made a start in life, although such a refusal is thought very improper. Consequently, the girls have to wait until the boys are ready to marry. So marriages are getting late nowadays. Among some of the reform societies, such as the Brahmo-Somaj and the Arya-Somaj, you will find maids of twenty, twenty-five, thirty, or even thirty-five. They are

very few and far between, however. But, on the whole, the age of marriage has been considerably raised. The girls of these societies are going in for education with a vengeance. There are scores of graduates of universities among them. On account of deferred marriage, the women of India are beginning to have a wider view of life and civic duties.

Caste rules prohibit marriage between members of different castes and subcastes. This leads to marriage relationships within very narrow circles, which result in physical degeneracy. The social reformer knows that this is a source of social and national weakness. So he has been agitating marriage between different castes, at least between the subcastes of the same principal castes. The reform societies of the Brahmo-Somaj and the Arya-Somaj are doing yeoman's service in this as in other social reform measures. Inter-marriages are going on, under their auspices, between different original castes, subcastes, and even between different provinces. Though the orthodox do not relish the idea at all, still the work is going on just the same as



A HINDU WOMAN WHO EDITS A MAGAZINE FOR WOMEN

(Sarala Devi Chowdhury, B.A., late principal of the Maharani's College for Women at Mysore)

the result of organized propaganda for the expansion of the idea and practice of inter-marriage. The opposition is only strengthening the movement.

But the greatest difficulty in the way of inter-provincial marriages lies in the language problem. The people of different provinces of India speak different languages and do not understand one another; and it is easy to believe that love-making, or house-keeping, is well-nigh impossible without a common language. So the work must start from narrower circles of subcastes and gradually expand to wider and wider circles. There is no denying the fact that the work has begun in right earnest and is making steady progress. Men like Sir Chandra Madhub Ghose and Justice Saradacharun Mittra are rendering great service along this line. A few years ago Miss Sarala Devi Ghosal, B.A., of Bengal, a woman of great intellectual attainments and a leader of the

present national movement, married Mr. R. Dutt Chowdhury of the Punjab. This gave a great impetus to such marriages. Whenever there is a dispute about inter-provincial marriages, the young men quote their Sarala Devi.

In the higher castes of the Hindus a widow is not allowed to marry. Once a widow always a widow. But a widower can marry as many times as he wishes to, and there is no law to prevent him from marrying. This social custom is not only an injustice done to women, but a poor social economy as well. The great majority of Indian widows are Hindu widows. There were, in 1901, 19,487 widows below the age of five; 95,798 between five and ten; 275,862 between ten and fifteen; 522,867 between fifteen and twenty; 938,725 between twenty and twenty-five; 1,432,608 between twenty-five and thirty; 2,267,361 between thirty and thirty-five; 2,068,491 between thirty-five and forty; 3,770,495 between forty and forty-five; 2,264,038 between forty-five and fifty; 4,112,876 between fifty and fifty-five; 1,521,210 between fifty-five and sixty and 6,596,939 of sixty and over.

REMARRIAGE OF WIDOWS

These figures speak for themselves. The social lecturers in India make a good deal of the figures and urge remarriage of Hindu widows. The higher castes are moving in the matter. A few examples have been set even in the otherwise orthodox families of high social standing. The most striking example of this is to be found in the remarriage of the daughter, a girl widow of ten or twelve, of Justice Ashutosh Mukrju of the Calcutta High Court. Though he belonged to orthodox Hinduism, still when it came to the remarriage of his little widowed daughter, he did not scruple to marry her again, though he was vehemently opposed by some of his own caste people and relatives. Following the lead of men in high positions, others are doing

the same. Widow marriage seems to be quite a fashionable thing nowadays.

A few years ago Rani Mrinalini of Calcutta, a young widow, married a young man in private life and left her queenly title and kingdom. Parents advertise in the papers: "A young widow of a different caste is wanted for a boy of such and such caste." They want to kill two birds with one stone,—intermarriage and the remarriage of widows combined in the same marriage. "Widow remarriage bureaus" have been started to facilitate widow marriage. Newspapers have opened a new column under the heading of "Widow Marriage," and they fill quite a little space with news bearing on the subject.

Even the illiterate masses are permeated with this idea of social reform. The other day in the little farming village of Orakandi, Bengal, with but a few hundred inhabitants, the women called a meeting, at which many men were present, and passed resolutions condemning early marriage and advocating remarriage of Hindu widows. Though 99 per cent. of the people were illiterate, still they could not help feeling the pulsations of the national heart that had been beating with tremendous rapidity.

POPULAR DEMAND FOR EDUCATION

On the average, out of 141 women in India, one only can read and write. This state of illiteracy left the women to a very narrow sphere of activity. The nation builders of India realize that woman is the greatest asset of any nation. She is the mother; she molds the character of the rising generation; she's the wife; the family is under her control. So the education and general enlightenment of women are more necessary than the education of men. So different avenues are being opened for female education, and patriotic men and women of India are doing everything in their power to spread education among women, and thus to raise their status and with it the status of men.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, one of the women leaders of Indian thought, thus spoke before the last Social Conference in Calcutta:

Does one man dare to deprive another of his birth-right to God's pure air which nourishes his body? How then shall a man dare to deprive a human soul of its immemorial inheritance of liberty and life? And yet, my friends, man has so dared in the case of Indian women. That is why you men of India are to-day what you are, because your fathers, in depriving your mothers of that immemorial birth-right, have robbed you, their sons, of your just inheritance. Therefore, I charge you, restore to your women their ancient rights, for it is we, and



PRATIVA MUKERJEE

(An Indian poetess who began writing at the age of twelve)

not you, who are the real nation-builders, and without our active coöperation at all points of progress, all your congresses and conferences are in vain. Educate your women and the nation will take care of itself, for it is true to-day as it was yesterday, and will be to the end of human life, that the hand that rocks the cradle is the power that rules the world.

Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda inspired her Indian sisters of the last Ladies' Conference in Calcutta by saying:

We shape the minds of our children in their infancy and boyhood, we can inspire them with a love and a legitimate pride in our past history, and we can create in them a taste for our modern literature. . . . The manhood and the womanhood of India is our handiwork; let us, mothers, train the future manhood and womanhood of India to the service of our country.

Even the beggar of India has changed the burden of his songs. In exchange for alms he received, he used to entertain the people with religious songs, entreating them to be good and kind, and also to project their thoughts to the hereafter. But since he has been won over by the nationalist, he has laid aside his religious songs and sings the national songs instead. He sings to urge men to patriotism, he sings recalling the better days of India gone by, and above all he sings to awaken the Indian woman. Here is a sample:

Awake, arise, O daughters of India; unless you rise Mother India cannot rise. Be ye wives of

heroes, and give birth to heroes. But for your devotion to India's cause, she can never rise. So awake, arise, ye daughters of India.

Side by side with the Indian National Congress, that meets every year during the Christmas holidays and aims at political reforms and powers, sits the Social Conference, where thousands of educated men and women meet and plan work for social reform. This agitation is kept up throughout the year by newspaper and magazine articles and by public lectures and discourses. There also meets at the same time the "Women's Conference" to plan work to better the condition of women. The women leaders make speeches and pass resolutions and, like men, plan work for the next year. Women travel from different corners of that vast country to attend the meetings of the conference. Everyone is animated with a lofty ideal and a noble ambition. They carry on the business of these meetings along strictly business lines. They divide India into different circles and carry on their activities in the circles in which they happen to live. As a result of this agitation, women's organizations are springing up in all parts of India. Women representing these organizations demand women's rights in no less unmistakable terms than in which the women of America and Europe demand their "rights." The feminist movement is gaining ground everywhere, and the progress in India is almost incredible.

HINDU WOMEN'S CLUBS

The Mahila Samiti (Woman's Association) of Calcutta proposes, besides other things, to unite Indian women of all castes, creeds and races, high or low, rich or poor, for the service of the Motherland. The Bharat Stri Mahamandal (All India Woman's Union) aims at diffusing education among women of all classes. It hires woman teachers and sends them out into families where, on account of purdah, married women cannot come out for education. It is mainly through the exertion of the Indian women that hundreds of girls' schools are dotting the entire country. Opening of women's clubs in metropolitan cities, and even in country places, is the order of the day. Women club together and subscribe for papers and magazines, and in their after-dinner meetings the one that can read reads the latest news, and all comment on the recent development of national and even international affairs. In Madras there is not an important place where there is no woman's association. In Bombay they are

abundant. In Bengal they are springing up like mushrooms.

The Indian women are invading the sacred precincts of journalism, too. There are many first-class magazines that are being conducted by them, both in English and in different vernaculars. The *Indian Ladies' Journal*, printed in English, is by far the best woman's paper in India. The *Bharati* is edited by Mrs. Swadna Kumari Ghosal, the *Shu Proval* by Miss Kumadini Mittra. There are other papers like the *Bamabadhini Patrika*, the *Paricharika*, the *Antappor*, the *Bharat Mahila*, etc., all edited by Indian women, and any and every one of these journals would do credit to the periodical literature of any country in the world.

WIDOWS' HOMES

As the helpless Indian widows are a burden on society, widows' homes are being started for training these widows as teachers in different branches of learning—e.g., education, nursing, sewing, embroidery, and other fine arts. Thus they are being helped to be able to help themselves. The widows' home of Baranagore, in Bengal, started by Mr. Sasi-pado Bannerjee, and the Kharve widows' home at Poona, in the Bombay Presidency, are the most important. The "Seca Sadan" (Home of Service) of Bombay, started by Mr. Malavari to train women in social service work, is helping the widows a good deal. Mr. Malavari has many rich people and princes interested in the scheme, and the institution is thriving on a grand scale. In other provinces and cities there are similar institutions. In Calcutta the women have started a ladies' industrial institution (Mahila Shilpa Samiti), where they teach, mostly the widows, all kinds of handiwork, such as tailoring, weaving, lacework, embroidery, and painting.

We cannot enter here into the part women are playing in the political and industrial regeneration of India. Suffice it to say that but for women's help, guidance, and willingness to suffer, the whole movement would fall to pieces. The Indian woman is the soul of the nationalist movement. When the history of Indian nationalism is written the women of India will be given a conspicuous place.

In the strengthening of women we see half of the population strengthened. The half that was feeble and almost paralyzed is stirring with a new life, and promises to be a source of strength and inspiration in the future.

JAPAN'S TASK IN KOREA

BY DAVID STARR JORDAN

(President of the Stanford University)

IN the following notes it is not necessary to discuss the ethics of the Japanese occupation of Korea, the history of the various movements which led up to it, nor the incidents of military occupation and of the irruption of laborers and roustabouts who hoped, vainly, to "get rich quick" through occupation of the new territory, and who found themselves obliged to return home unsuccessful. I speak only of those matters of Japanese occupation which came to my attention in a short visit to the country in September, 1911.

Korea (*Chosen*, in Japanese) is nearly as large as New York and Pennsylvania and lies in the same latitude. Agriculturally it has about the same value as these States. It is also a little smaller than Great Britain. Its population is now estimated at 12,000,000. The people are very poor, living in little houses with thatched roofs, in small villages, suggesting colonies of scale insects, on the slopes of the hills. Their poverty is associated with the former bad government, an absolute monarchy, which divided its privileges among the nobility. All taxes were collected by the "squeeze," and there was no remedy for injustice save the chance luck of beheading. Almost every man of initiative in whatever kind within the last three hundred years, has been beheaded by order of the court,—a kind of reversed selection in itself adequate to account for the lack of self-assertion characteristic of the Koreans. Any man suspected of having money was subject to violence or imprisonment. Clean clothing might get a farmer into trouble. To have trees (other than chestnut or persimmon) about one's house, subjected a man to such suspicion. If he were not rich he would have cut them down for fuel. The attitude of the Korean toward his own forlorn government is well expressed by a Korean gentleman, named Kim, as quoted by James S. Gale:

We have no king. The one we had was a poor makeshift, but anything is better than no king. He would never take a reprimand. The number of heads of chief officers that dropped during his reign was astonishing. He was mighty in having his own way and in keeping the people under. He used to say: "Don't make a noise, don't talk about the government. Just eat your rice, do your work

and be good." When the people attempted to carry on the Independence Club, His Majesty put up a notice on the Bell Kiosk: "Let there be no meeting or shout talk of any kind in the street. You are commanded every man to stay at home and mind your own business." He handcuffed us, he robbed us, he paddled us, he hanged and quartered us, he lived for himself alone and for his worn-out superstitions, but it was better than no king. So deeply is the patriarchal thought written on the heart that bees could as easily swarm without a queen bee as Korea lift up its head without some choice in the way of a ruler. . . . My face is lost and shame is my eternal portion forever.

For the "squeeze" the Japanese have substituted regular taxes and regular process of law. They have exterminated the brigands, who were mainly farmers driven beyond endurance by the squeeze. The sums raised by taxation are all spent for the public welfare, and spent in Korea. The expense of occupation, the cost of army and navy, is paid by Japan. This is an important matter, as in most parts of the world the bulk of taxation goes to military expenditure.

The Koreans had practically lost all Exports. The Japanese have introduced industrial schools, and are teaching the people trades by which they may have in the cities materials for export. Everywhere fair schools are taking the place of the little nativeschools. In the Korean village of Gondoro I visited one of these. It was in a room eight feet square; six children were reading in concert, a teacher squatting on the floor, on which the head of the house lay asleep. Later the teacher covered a little hand blackboard with Korean letters.

The most visible misfortune of Korea is the loss of her forests. Except along the Yalu River in the north, where still remain the pine forests which the Russian promoters had taken, Korea is practically a treeless land.

Originally the forests were destroyed to get rid of tigers and leopards. Now every young tree or bush that springs up is taken for firewood. The people burn weeds and hay, and suffer greatly in the winter time. Good cattle are raised in Korea, being used mainly as beasts of burden, never for milk, but the people cannot afford to keep them, as they need all their hay to burn. It is said

that there is about one cow or bull to every nine families. Korea is an excellent grazing country and sends some beef to Japan, but in the lack of timber cattle cannot be profitably reared, unless some other fuel takes the place of hay.

The loss of timber causes great waste of land by wash of the hills. One hundred and seventy thousand acres of land are taken to the sea every year. This wash of the land destroys the breeding grounds of herring.

The Japanese have taken the task of reforestation very seriously. Mr. O. Saito, the head forester, has in experimental cultivation nearly all the trees of value in temperate regions. This year three million pine trees were planted. Certain privileges are granted to farmers who rear the trees which are given them, while the destruction of the little chance-sown pines is forbidden. A complete and careful forestry map of Korea has been completed and every method known to forestry for bringing back the trees is in use.

Along with the forestry work goes the work of the experiment stations in which all plants which may be made available for Korean use are tested and, if successful, are distributed among the people.

One result already has been the establishment of cotton as a crop in Southern Korea. By bringing in better seed, the crop of rice has been increased 30 per cent. on 30,000 of the 300,000 acres sown to rice in Korea. The culture of the species of oak on which the wild silkworm feeds has also been greatly extended. There are now 130 public nurseries of trees in Japan and six pine trees are given yearly to each citizen.

In connection with the large experiment station directed by Dr. Honda at Suwon is an Agricultural College for Korean boys. This is conducted along approved lines. It may be noted that in the dormitory the rooms are all built in Korean fashion, although much better than in most Korean homes. This shows that the real purpose of the work is to build up a new Korea, not the aggrandizement of Japan. The bureau of fisheries under Mr. Ihara shows the same attention to Korean needs. Since the Japanese took charge of the protectorate, the catch of fish has been very greatly increased, there being a better market.

The sanitation of Seoul, Pyeng-Yang, and Fusan has also received the careful attention of the Japanese authorities. The government of Japan has built a railway from end

to end of Korea, from Fusan to the Yalu River. This is of standard gauge, running American cars, two trains daily each way bearing Pullman sleepers and dining cars. This line is now extended from Antung on the Yalu River to Mukden in Manchuria, and thence to connections with the Trans-Siberian line. Solid trains may now be run from Moscow to Fusan. At present the Korean railway hardly pays its way, but will be an important factor in the new Korea the Japanese hope to build up.

With proper laws, just government, and encouragement to industry and agriculture, the Japanese hope to see twenty-five millions of people in Korea in a score of years. If the people have something to sell they will have something to buy. They are by no means a barbarous or incompetent people. They taught the Japanese to make Satsuma ware, though they lost the art themselves when their forests were gone. Korean artists built for the Japanese the temples at Kyoto and Nagoya in exact imitation of their own temples at Seoul. When I spoke not long ago in Seoul to 1500 young men, all dressed in spotless white muslin, there were two on the stage who wore Phi Beta Kappa pins, one from Princeton and one from Yale. Their Japanese teachers say that they are very quick to learn languages, fair at mathematics, slow in the inductive sciences. They have lost their nation and, worst of all, it went down without saving its face. The hope of the people is reviving. The Japanese grant perfect religious toleration, and in the consolations of the Christian religion the people are beginning to find a channel in which they can turn their futile love of country.

Whether the blotting out of Korea be right or wrong, an inevitable step of manifest destiny or a needless suppression of a unique national life, it is not necessary for us now to decide. The occupation of Chosen is an accomplished fact. It is a part of the future of Japan, but it is worth while to know that the Japanese are taking their new responsibilities seriously. Japan has undertaken to carry western civilization into this stronghold of the "Unmitigated East." It is in work of this kind that Japanese administration shows itself at its best—capable, patient, forgetting nothing, not the least of the lessons of science, always hopeful, always industrious, and considering the good of the nation rather than the wishes of the individual.

MAKING A NEW CONSTITUTION FOR OHIO¹

BY HENRY W. ELSON

A STATE constitutional convention holds a unique place in our American political life. It has to deal with questions of basic, organic law, forbidden to our Presidents, governors, and courts; and even Congresses and legislatures may only incidentally propose changes in the organic law. Ordinarily these conventions are composed of men of the highest type and beyond the reach of corrupting influences. From the late E. L. Godkin's essay on "Decline of Legislatures," we quote the following:

Side by side with the annual or biennial legislature, we have another kind of legislature, the "Constitutional Convention," which retains everybody's respect, and whose work, generally marked by care and forethought, compares creditably with the legislation of any similar body in the world. Through the hundred years of national existence it has received little but favorable criticism from any quarter. It is still an honor to have a seat in it. The best men in the community are still eager or willing to serve in it, no matter at what cost to health or private affairs. I cannot recall one convention which has incurred either odium or contempt.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM

The Ohio Convention of 1912, which recently finished its work at Columbus, will doubtless measure up with others of its kind. For two reasons it was more conspicuous, perhaps, than any other in many years: First, it was in answer to its invitation that Mr. Roosevelt made his now famous speech in which he first promulgated his "recall of decisions" doctrine; secondly, this convention was the first east of the Mississippi to consider seriously certain innovations in government which have hitherto met with greater favor in States farther west.

Chief among these are the initiative and referendum, which occasioned three full weeks of debate and which were adopted in a form by no means pleasing to the extremists of either contending faction. The conservatives, however, are better satisfied with the result than are the radicals. The latter fought desperately for the "direct initiative"—the enactment of laws by the people with-

out reference to the legislature—but it lost out finally, on third reading, by a decisive majority.

A measure initiated by petition of the people must go to the legislature. If that body adopts it unchanged or in an amended form, it becomes a law, subject to a referendum to the people on petition of a certain percentage. If the legislature defeats the proposed measure or fails to act on it, a petition of but 3 per cent., added to the former initiative petition, is sufficient to place it before the people for a final judgment.

Aided by the "middle-of-the-road" class, the conservatives won two other victories: first, a provision that an initiative petition must come not wholly from congested centers of population, but from at least half of the counties of the State, and, second, an inhibition of the single tax by means of the initiative and referendum, though a future amendment of the constitution by this means, making possible the single tax, is not inhibited. It may be said that the only advantage won by the radicals lies in the fact that the percentages required to initiate a law (3 per cent.) and a constitutional amendment (10 per cent.) are very low. However, it is generally believed that the initiative and referendum as adopted by the convention, if ratified by the people, will be used but seldom. It has been clearly demonstrated in Ohio as well as in nearly all States that the people can get what they want in the way of legislation without initiative, while the existence of a referendum law, as a "shotgun behind the door," will ordinarily obviate the necessity of using it.

THE LIQUOR QUESTION

Next to the referendum and initiative, the subject of licensing the liquor traffic required more of the convention's time than any other—nearly three weeks. As stated in the article on the convention in the *MARCH REVIEW*,

¹ Professor Elson, who was himself a member of the Ohio Constitutional Convention, contributed to the *MARCH REVIEW* an article sketching the personnel of the convention and outlining its preliminary work.

no license is authorized in the present constitution of Ohio. The liquor traffic is, therefore, outlawed. This fact has been a source of some satisfaction to the temperance people of the State; but in practice it is worse than meaningless, for any one, whatever his record or character, may establish a saloon anywhere within "wet" territory on securing a location and paying the tax. The new proposal provides for license, and the securing of this provision is practically the only victory won by the "wets," though they profess to be pleased with the proposed amendment and will probably work for its adoption.

The "drys" are also pleased, and with more reason. Three or four items in the proposal adopted are decidedly in their favor. Among these are the following: Brewery-owned saloons, of which there are thousands in the State, are prohibited; no man can secure a license except by proving his moral character, nor can he retain it if convicted more than once of violating the liquor laws; present and future temperance laws are safeguarded, and not more than one license will be granted for each 500 of the population. This last provision, which, if adopted by the people, will cut out nearly one-third of the saloons of the State, was fought long and fruitlessly by the liquor interests. The temperance people of the State, except the uncompromising prohibitionists, are lining up for the new proposal in spite of their prejudice against the word license, and if the moderates and the liquor interests do the same, its adoption will be assured.

JUDICIAL REFORM

In the article for the March REVIEW we noticed the first of the proposals adopted by the convention—that reforming the jury system, breaking the thousand-year-old custom of requiring unanimity in the verdict of a jury. Since then another judicial reform has been adopted which will be far-reaching in its operation if accepted by the people. The great defect in the present judicial system of Ohio lies chiefly in the State Circuit Court. This court is scarcely more than a sieve through which a case is carried up from the Court of Common Pleas to the Supreme Court. As a tribunal of final resort it scarcely enjoys the respect of the people. The Supreme Court is consequently congested with business and is usually from one to three years behind in its work, the result being long

delays in meting out justice. Moreover, it is practically inaccessible to a poor litigant.

By the new method, as adopted by the convention, the Circuit Court is changed to a Court of Appeals, which shall have final judgment in all cases coming from the lower courts, except in cases of felony or cases involving great public interest or a constitutional principle. The new plan provides for one trial and one review in all ordinary cases, except cases in chancery, which may have a second trial, before a Court of Appeals. The plan will greatly lessen the law's delay and the cost of litigation. Instead of three or four years, as now required, to carry a case to a final decision, probably as many months will suffice. Hundreds of cases, especially cases of personal injury against the big corporations, which are now carried to the highest tribunal in the State, will hereafter be settled in a Court of Appeals. The State will be divided into eight judicial districts, in each of which there will be a Court of Appeals composed of three judges.

In one other respect this proposal for judicial reform deserves special notice. It makes it necessary for five of the six judges of the Supreme Court to agree in order to pronounce a law unconstitutional, unless a Court of Appeals has already so pronounced it. It will be remembered that in no other country in the world can the courts sit in judgment on the acts of the legislature or pronounce on the validity of a statute; but the right has always been recognized in America, and in every Supreme Court, Federal and State, a bare majority can exercise it. If, therefore, Ohio adopts her new constitution, this alteration of the time-honored custom will be the first of its kind in this country.

A proposal to abolish capital punishment was adopted by a narrow margin; but the chances are that it will be defeated at the polls. If the changes in the judiciary proposed by this convention are adopted by the people it is believed that the pecuniary gain by the people each year will amount to several times the entire cost of the convention.

HOME RULE FOR CITIES

Nothing more important was done by this convention than the changes it provided for in municipal government. Sixty years ago, when the present constitution of the State was adopted, cities were few and small in size, and the great problems then to be solved were those relating to agriculture and rural life.

To-day the problems of municipal government are paramount. The old constitution makes the city wholly dependent on the State legislature, forbidding the exercise of any powers not authorized, and the rural members of that body have ever stood in the way of a free and unhampered development of the social, commercial, and political life of the city. The same conditions are found in many States in the Union. The Ohio convention of the present year recognized the great need of change in this respect. It called for advice from various experts, among whom was one of the ablest students of city problems in America—the mayor of Cleveland.

The result is most gratifying. The convention recognized the vital fact that a city is an organism, an administrative unit, and that it should have a free hand in working out its own salvation. The city is granted practically all the freedom of a business corporation. It may frame and adopt its own charter, may adopt the commission plan or any other plan of government through a referendum vote of its electors and, indeed, it may, subject to general State laws, exercise all the powers of local self-government. If this proposal is adopted there will no longer be uniformity in the government of the cities of Ohio. Each will go its own way and follow its own fancy in the matter of government.

Certain very important powers, however, are reserved to the legislature. It may mark a debt limit for the city, also limit the power of the city to tax its inhabitants. It retains the right to require reports from a municipality as to its financial condition and transactions, to examine its books and accounts, and to call its officials to account.

CONCESSIONS TO ORGANIZED LABOR

It cannot be said that the proposals advanced in the convention in the interest of labor organizations were extravagant or immoderate.

One of these provides for laws "establishing a State fund to be created by compulsory contribution thereto by employers and administered by the State," the purpose of which is to provide compensation to workmen and their dependents for death, injury, or occupational disease occasioned in the course of employment. But this does not take away from an employee the right of action for injury arising from the failure of an employer to comply with the law.

Various other amendments provide for laws fixing and regulating the hours of labor,

establishing a minimum wage, and the like. Eight hours is made a day's work "on any public work carried on or aided by the State, or any political subdivision thereof, whether done by contract or otherwise." A present Ohio law limits the amount recoverable for death caused by the wrongful act of another to \$10,000. This limit is removed.

No other victory of labor perhaps will be so gratifying to the labor world as that provided in the following:

No order of injunction shall issue in any controversy involving the employment of labor, except to preserve physical property from injury or destruction; and all persons charged in contempt proceedings with the violation of an injunction issued in such controversies shall, upon demand, be granted a trial by jury as in criminal cases.

It is well known that injunctions and contempt proceedings, especially in connection with strikes, have long agitated the labor world and have played a part in national campaigns. This proposal, which decidedly limits the power of the courts, concedes to labor about all it has ever asked for in this respect.

TAXATION

Of all the proposed amendments passed by the convention the most disappointing, from the standpoint of the student of economics and government, is that on taxation. The chief call for the creating of this convention came from the business and financial world and the chief object of these interests was to get rid of the antiquated "uniform rule" of the constitution of 1851. In this they were sorely disappointed. Not only did the convention reenact the old uniform rule, taxing all moneys, credits, real estate, and personal property at the same rate, but it added all future issues of State and municipal bonds, making them taxable by the same rule. Nine years ago a constitutional amendment was adopted taking bonds off the tax duplicate; the convention put them back, in spite of the pleadings and protests of nearly half the membership. In the proposal, however, are a few good features, such as the provision for graduated inheritance and income taxes.

The newspapers of the State have generally handled this proposal with the utmost severity. The answer of its friends is that the newspapers are under the dominance of the moneyed interests, whose object is to lay the burden of taxation on the farmer and laborer. They would have none of this, and they were inflexible in their determination to preserve the uniform rule.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND OTHER PROPOSALS

The Woman Suffrage proposal passed its final reading and will be submitted to the voters of the State. All the leading woman suffragists in America are turning their eyes toward Ohio, and many of them will aid in organizing a vigorous campaign. On the other hand, there is a strong organization crystallizing among the women against forcing the ballot on their sex. This party claims a large majority of women. Whether this is a fact or not, the women who favor the ballot for their sex persistently refuse to permit the matter to be decided by the women themselves.

One of the most popular of the convention's proposals is that known as the "Blue Sky" proposal. The term is borrowed from Kansas. It will be remembered that a few years ago Kansas enacted its "Blue Sky" law, for the purpose of protecting the people against the sale of stocks of companies the assets of which were composed chiefly of blue sky. The law has done a wonderful work in that State. The Ohio legislature made a similar attempt some time ago, but the Supreme Court decided that it violated the Bill of Rights. The convention thereupon changed the Bill of Rights in such a way as to enable the legislature to enact laws forbidding the sale of stocks in the State by any company until it secures a license and proves its assets.

Other proposals of more or less importance (some of which were suggested by the fact that certain legislative acts had failed to run the gantlet of the Supreme Court) were the following: Voting machines are permitted in elections; the legislature is enabled to pass laws regulating out-door display advertising; a State-wide primary law is provided for, and appointments and promotions in the civil service are made to depend on competitive examinations. This last provision will greatly lessen the power of a State administration if adopted.

The Short Ballot, as applied to the State, was ingloriously defeated, and thus Ohio lost an opportunity to take the lead in what has become a world movement and which is sure to prevail in the end. Many strong men of the convention favored the Short Ballot, but two classes opposed it—the politicians, fearing for their own political future, and the unsophisticated, who could not comprehend the full meaning of the subject. The convention as a whole, it must be confessed, was wanting in the necessary statesmanship to

take a pioneer part in bringing about a change of such importance and such magnitude.

In its closing days the convention decided to submit its work to the people in a special election to be held on September 3, 1912. It is to be submitted, not in a block as a new constitution, but in separate items, or proposals, of which there are forty-two. The liquor question is to be placed on a separate ballot. All the rest are to be in a single column and voted on separately, each on its own merits.

Strange is the irony of fate, and a rare example is found in the calling together and the work of this convention. There was no special demand on the part of the people of Ohio for the calling of the convention. The pioneer in agitating the subject was the Ohio Board of Trade, and its chief object was to secure the right of classification of property for taxation. It not only failed to get what it wanted, but it lost what it had won in the amendment of 1903 when the convention replaced bonds on the tax duplicate.

Next to the commercial interests came the liquor interests. Seeing that a convention was to be called, they entered the arena with the object of securing a license system in Ohio. They succeeded in making this the most mooted issue in the campaign. Nearly every candidate had to declare himself "wet" or "dry." Behold the result! The liquor people get their coveted license, but with such restrictions as to give them far less liberty than they now have.

Lastly came the initiative and referendum advocates, mere opportunists. Few in number, they had long preached their doctrine with little hope of winning their point, perhaps, within a score of years. When it was decided to call this convention they saw their unexpected opportunity and began a vigorous campaign. Rapidly they won converts and succeeded in making their hobby the issue of the campaign, next to the liquor question. In the end they won more than the commercial or liquor interests, but fell far short of their ideal.

The great work of the convention was along lines not contemplated in the campaign nor discussed among the people, such as the changes in the judiciary and in the government of cities. The general belief is that a large majority of the proposals will be adopted by the people, and if so they will practically amount to a new constitution—a far better one than that under which the State is now governed.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

SOCIAL SCIENCE AND SOCIALISM

THAT in the ultimate judgment of history Karl Marx will have a place in social science analogous to that of Galileo in physical science, is the prophecy made by Dr. Albion W. Small in the *American Journal of Sociology*; for "no man has done more than he to strengthen the democratic suspicion that the presuppositions of our present social system are superficial and provisional."

Marx found a world organized, in its theory and its practice, around capital. He declared that the world will remain impossibly arbitrary until its theory and practice center around labor. This was in substance by no means a novel utterance. Adam Smith had said it, but he was appalled by his own irreverence and promptly retracted it. Marx said it with the force, the detail, and the corroborating evidence of a revelation. . . . Nobody since Martin Luther has done as much as Karl Marx to make the conventional-minded fear that our theories of life may need a thorough overhauling. The longer that overhauling is postponed the greater will be the repute of Marx after the crisis is passed, and the more fatuous will the interests appear that are meanwhile repressing the inevitable.

Dr. Small enumerates five particulars in which Marx challenged prevailing ideas, namely:

1. He [Marx] alleged that the world must set itself right about the economic interpretation of history.
2. He called attention to class conflict, as a primary factor, in human history, and he tried to rouse the classes that have no resource but their labor to open their eyes to their interests in the situation, to become "class conscious," and to pursue their own interests as intelligently as competing classes pursue theirs.
3. He put a new emphasis on the rudimentary economic fact of surplus value.
4. He assumed that the laboring class and the capitalistic class may be sharply distinguished and precisely divided.
5. All his visions of reorganized society centered about a state which should be the owner of all productive wealth, while the citizens should be the consumers each of his own share of the output of production.

Dr. Small considers that in essentials Marx was "nearer to a correct diagnosis of the evils of our present property system than the wisdom of this world has yet been willing to admit," but his plan for correcting the evils is "neither the only conceivable alternative nor the most convincing one."

From the standpoint of social science, any plan for correcting the evils of capitalism is premature until the world has probed down much deeper into the evils themselves. Not until we thoroughly understand that our social order now rests on the basis of property, and that it will not be a thoroughly moral order until it is transferred to the basis of function, shall we be in a position intelligently to reflect on social reconstruction.

The social philosophy taught and practised in Germany since 1870 is "much more profoundly democratic than the theories developed in England and adopted in the United States." Forty years ago a company of German economists, the most influential body of social scientists ever formed in the world, "deliberately repudiated the fundamental capitalistic conception on which English and American policy still implicitly rests."

They declared that economic life can have no license except as a subordinate section of the moral life of men. They said that all economic and social problems are ethical problems, and must be treated as such. Whatever we think about details of German policy in pursuance of this principle, it certainly has not failed to make good according to the very standards of success which England and America apply. German social theory has not sapped Germany's political strength. It has not ruined Germany's industries. On the contrary, as everyone knows, Germany has made more relative gain in political and industrial strength during the past forty years than any other European power.

Dr. Small consequently concludes—and he avers that all candid people are bound to admit so much—that "German social theory, which it is fashionable in America to dismiss with the contemptuous epithet 'Socialism!' has demonstrated its claims to standing in court."

It starts with the principle that men are more important than capital, and that all political and legal and economic practices must be held accountable to that principle. All our social problems may be reduced to differences of opinion about the validity of this principle. . . . Human life is a going concern. It will not stop developing. Its development presents new problems of readjustment with each generation; and no previous generation's judgment can ever permanently stand as a bar to the formation of revised judgments and volitions by the living generation.

It is a symptom of social punk-mindedness that all our best-equipped thinkers are not as seriously

intent as the socialists are upon the unsolved problems of society. Our most influential classes are making a mistake to-day parallel with the mistake of the corresponding classes during the decade previous to the Civil War. They excluded candid discussion of slavery from Congress, and they made it disreputable everywhere else. It is conceivable that the "irrepressible conflict" might have been fought out in the court of reason, and not on the battlefield, if it had soon enough been treated as the uppermost question of statesmanship and of morals. There is an irrepressible conflict in modern society between the presuppositions of capital and the paramount values of humanity.

In the opinion of Dr. Small, our academic social scientists should tackle this radical problem of men in general. By the socialists it has been attacked with more zeal than discretion. Social progress would be promoted by "more cross-breeding between presumed

scientific discretion and actual democratic zeal for humanity."

As to socialism itself, Dr. Small maintains that "whether we are interested in socialism primarily as a movement or as a theory, we do not begin to get our bearings until we have reached the clear perception that both friends and enemies of socialism are laboring under a delusion when they imagine that socialism is a perfectly developed thing. It is not, either as a movement or as a theory. It is a definite thing only in the minds of small groups of people in particular times and places. The socialism professed by other groups of people at the same time and in other places may be different in kinds and degrees ranging from trivial points of order to irreconcilable principles."

SHOULD SMITH GO TO CHURCH?

IN presenting, under the anonymous guise of "Smith," the case of "the indifferent churchman," as the clergy are wont to describe him, Mr. Meredith Nicholson (in the *Atlantic Monthly*) has done a real service to the church, the clergy, and the laity. It needs no elaborate system of statistics to prove that, as the years pass, the number of men who absent themselves from the services of their church is always on the increase. Many of the clergy are insistent in their complaint that the people will not come to church. What is the cause of this condition of affairs? Mr. Nicholson's article is a valuable contribution to the discussion of the subject; and he is to be complimented on the absolute impartiality with which he treats both minister and parishioner. No fair-minded person can deny that the case of Smith, as depicted in the following passages, with which the article opens, is typical of hundreds and hundreds throughout the country. In answer to his own question "Should Smith go to church?" Mr. Nicholson writes:

I think he should. Moreover, I think I should set Smith an example by placing myself on Sunday morning in a pew from which he may observe me at my devotions. Smith and I attended the same Sunday school when we were boys, and remained for church afterwards as a matter of course. Smith now spends his Sunday mornings golfing, or pottering about his garden, or in his club or office, and after the mid-day meal he takes a nap and loads his family into a motor for a flight countryward. It must be understood that I do not offer myself as a pattern for Smith. While I resent being classified with the lost sheep, I am,

nevertheless, a restless member of the flock, prone to leap the wall and wander. Smith is the best of fellows,—an average twentieth-century American, diligent in business, a kind husband and father, and in politics anxious to vote for what he believes to be the best interests of the country.

In the community where we were reared it was not respectable not to go to church. I remember distinctly that in my boyhood people who were not affiliated with some church were looked upon as pariahs and outcasts. An infidel was a marked man. . . . Yet in the same community no reproach attaches to-day to the non-church-going citizen. A majority of the men I know best, in cities large and small, do not go to church. Most of them are in no wise antagonistic to religion; they are merely indifferent. Clearly, there must be some reason for this change.

There are those among the clergy who deny the right of the layman to criticize the church. To these Mr. Nicholson rejoins:

The church is either the repository of the Christian religion on earth, the divinely inspired and blessed tabernacle of the faith of Christ, or it is a stupendous fraud. There is no sound reason why the church should not be required to give an account of its stewardship. If it no longer attracts men and women in our strenuous and impatient America, then it is manifestly unjust to deny to outsiders the right of criticism. . . . There are far too many Smiths who do not care particularly whether the churches prosper or die. And I urge that Smith is worthy of the church's best consideration. Even if the ninety-and-nine were snugly housed in the fold, Smith's soul is still worth the saving. Yet Smith doesn't care a farthing about the state of his soul. Nothing, in fact, interests him less. . . . Smith thinks the church is a good thing for Jones and me, but as for himself, he gets on comfortably without it. And herein lies the great danger both to the church and to Smith.

Among the things that will *not* bring back the Smiths to the churches, in Mr. Nicholson's judgment, are discussions of the higher criticism and of nice points of dogma.

A church that would regain the lost Smiths will do well to satisfy that large company of the estranged and the indifferent that one need not believe all that is contained between the lids of the Bible to be a Christian. Much of the Bible is vulnerable, but Jesus explained himself in terms whose clarity has in no wise been clouded by criticism. Smith has no time, even if he had the scholarship, to pass upon the merits of the Book of Daniel; but give him Christ's own words without elucidation and he is at once on secure ground.

Smith's trouble is not with faith but with works. He gages the church by business standards, and "the church does not impress him as being an efficient machine that yields adequate returns upon the investment." To quote further from the article:

The word we encounter oftenest in the business world nowadays is "efficiency"; the thing of which Smith must first be convinced is that the church may be made efficient. And on that ground he must be met honestly, for Smith is a practical being, who surveys religion as everything else with an eye of calculation. . . . The economic waste represented in church investment and administration does not impress Smith favorably, nor does it awaken admiration in Jones or in me. Smith knows that two groceries on opposite sides of a street are usually one too many. . . . And he has witnessed, too, a deterioration of the church's power through its abandonment of philanthropic work to secular agencies, while churches of the familiar type, locked up tight all the week save for a prayer-meeting and choir-practice, have nothing to do. What strikes Smith is their utter wastefulness and futility.

Mr. Nicholson recognizes that "the difficulties of the clergy are greatly multiplied in these days." A minister's lot is "indubitably the hardest one. He is abused for illiberality, or, seeking to be all things to all men, he is abused for consorting with sinners." He is "expected to preach eloquently, to augment his flock, to keep a hand on the Sunday school, and to bear himself with discretion amid the tortuous mazes of church and secular politics."

Should the church go to Smith, or should Smith seek the church? On this question, Mr. Nicholson thinks there can be no debate. "Smith will *not* seek the church, and it must be on the church's initiative that he is restored to it." Smith is impressed with the work being done outside the church by agencies she should never have allowed to slip from her, such as the Charity Organization Society and the Y. M. C. A.

Smith points to them with a flourish, and says that he prefers to give his money where it is put to practical use. To him the church is an economic parasite, doing business on one day of the week, immune from taxation, and the last of his neighbors to scrape the snow from her sidewalks! The fact that there are within fifteen minutes' walk of his house half a dozen churches, all struggling to maintain themselves, and making no appreciable impression upon the community, is not lost upon Smith,—the practical, unemotional, busy Smith. Smith speaks to me with sincere admiration of his friend the Salvation Army major, to whom he opens his purse ungrudgingly; but the church over the way—that expensive pile of stone closed tightly for all but five or six hours of the week!—Smith shakes his head ruefully when you suggest it. It is to him a bad investment that ought to be turned over to a receiver for liquidation.

Something must be done, and done soon, to bring Smith back to the fold, and Mr. Nicholson believes that the means most likely to be successful will be found to be "church union, upon the broadest lines, directed to the increase of the church's efficiency in spiritual and social service." He would appoint local commissions to devise plans for increasing the efficiency of existing churches, and to consider ways and means of bringing the church into vital touch with the community. Millions of dollars are invested in American churches which are in the main open only once or twice a week. The doors should stand open *seven* days in the week, and men and women should be waiting at the portals "to comfort and help the weak-hearted and to raise up those who fall." The people living about a strong institutional church would find in it a "church home." "Not only should body and soul be cared for, but there is no reason why theatrical entertainments, concerts, and dances should not be provided." The reorganization of the churches on these lines would necessitate a change in the preparation for the ministry. The creeds and the old theology would need less defense, for "coalition in itself would be a supreme demonstration of the enduring power and glory of Christianity."

The seven-day church, being built upon efficiency and aiming at definite results, could afford to suffer men to think as they liked on the virgin birth, the miracles, and the resurrection of the body, so long as they practiced the precepts of Jesus.

This busy, helpful, institutional church, welcoming under one roof men of all degrees, to broaden, sweeten, and enlighten their lives, need ask no more of those who accept the service than that they believe in a God who ever lives and loves, and in Christ, who appeared on earth in His name to preach justice, mercy, charity, and kindness.

THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION



MADERO WONDERS HOW DIAZ MANAGED SO WELL
FOR THIRTY YEARS

From the *Journal* (Portland, Ore.)

WHEN, on May 25, 1911, Gen. Porfirio Diaz resigned the presidency of Mexico, thirty-four years had elapsed since the date (November 28, 1876) on which he had declared himself provisional president of the republic. During these thirty-four years

Mexico emerged from a condition of political anarchy, social disruption, and economic stagnation into a well-organized, consolidated, and progressive modern state. In less than a generation General Diaz succeeded not only in establishing order throughout the territory of the republic, but also in bringing about a degree of economic advance which aroused the astonishment and admiration of the civilized world.

Prof. L. S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania, in an article in the *Political Science Quarterly*, on the causes and consequences of the Mexican revolution, from which the foregoing quotation is taken, asks a question which has often been asked by the man in the street, "Why is it that at the close of this period of development, when law and order seemed permanently assured throughout the republic, when the government seemed more firmly established than ever before, there should burst forth a revolutionary movement?" And, by way of answer thereto, he traces the events which led up to the overthrow of the Diaz régime. It is to be noted that as late as March, 1911, General Diaz and his cabinet did not regard the situation as serious. They had entirely mis-

judged the significance of the revolutionary movement. They were wholly unaware of the fact that

the movement was supported by a force even more powerful than the arms of the insurgents, namely, a strong body of public opinion, which for the first time in the history of Mexico had reached national proportions. . . . The triumph of the revolution was . . . the expression of a genuine popular feeling, which, repressed for a generation, burst forth with a force which not only dumfounded the members of the government, but surprised even the leaders of the movement.

The man who for so long had been the idol of the people of Mexico "seemed suddenly to lose his hold on their affection, and the demand for his resignation resounded in almost every section of the country." In his exhaustive analysis of the causes of this revolution of popular feeling, Professor Rowe notices, first, that General Diaz "clearly recognized that the Mexican constitution was far in advance of the political capacity of the people." Also,

he realized that the long and almost unbroken tradition of anarchy and civil strife, which began at the dawn of the era of independence, had bred in the nation a spirit of resistance to all authority and a lack of respect for law and order which could be brought under control only by means of a strong government, sternly and almost ruthlessly suppressing every outbreak of lawlessness. The enforcement of this policy carried with it, as a logical consequence, the discouragement of all popular activity.

Concluding that the interests of the country called for the development of greater industrial efficiency among the masses of the people, he, as a part of his plan, encouraged the utilization of the country's natural resources through the investment of foreign capital. Some one has said that "in the execution of this plan he fell into the grave error of mistaking the wealth of the country for its well-being." Professor Rowe thinks there is much truth in the criticism. The financial reorganization of Mexico came to be regarded as an end rather than as a means. Financial stability once attained, the government should have turned its attention to the betterment of the condition of the laboring classes.

Another contributing factor to the downfall of the Diaz government was the bringing into the political life of the country, through the professional schools of Mexico City, of "a large number of young men anxious to participate in public affairs, but who found

themselves debarred from doing so unless they were willing unreservedly to support the Diaz régime." The discontent thus engendered was fomented by the plan to subordinate the states to the federal authorities. After 1900, instead of selecting candidates for the higher state offices because of fitness, personal loyalty to the president became the sole test.

In return for this loyalty the state governors were given a free hand, and they abused their power to such an extent as to create widespread discontent. This was increased by the tyrannical abuses of the minor administrative officials, especially the so-called *jefes políticos*, whose control of the police force in their districts enabled them to develop a system of intimidation and extortion which weighed heavily on the poorer classes and gave rise to widespread discontent.

General Diaz promised often that the matter should receive his attention, but it was put off from time to time, and "when action was rendered imperative it was too late." These abuses, says Professor Rowe, "were the primary causes of the revolution."

Another and a very important factor in the downfall of the Diaz government was the opposition resulting from the attitude of the government toward labor unions and strikes. The General during his thirty years of office was accustomed to unquestioned submission to his will.

Instead of appreciating the fact that the formation of labor unions was an indication of progress, he looked upon such organizations with great distrust. . . . The policy of stern repression was interpreted by the workmen as an indication of a settled purpose on the part of the government to keep them in a condition of hopeless subordination. . . . The disaffection spread to the agricultural laborers. . . . The condition of the agricul-

tural laborer is almost if not quite hopeless. Working from dawn to sunset and earning from 12 to 20 cents a day, his position borders so closely on serfdom as hardly to be distinguishable therefrom. . . . To add to the difficulties of the situation the government made the mistake of passing a land act in 1894 under which some of the larger landowners were by "manipulation" able to dispossess some of their weaker neighbors.

Of the secondary causes which led to the downfall of General Diaz, Professor Rowe cites the attempt of the General to designate his successor.

When the vice-presidency was reestablished in 1904, it was generally assumed that this was a first step toward this end. . . . Those who were dissatisfied with the Diaz régime were willing to accept his reelection in 1910, provided freedom of choice were permitted in selecting a candidate for the vice-presidency. . . . The high-handed measures employed at the elections of 1910 to assure the triumph of Corral served to increase his unpopularity with the masses. Consequently this attempt on the part of Diaz to designate his successor should be regarded as one of the secondary causes of the revolution.

With regard to the election of Madero to the presidency and the political outlook, Professor Rowe remarks that extravagant promises made by the revolutionary leaders were manifestly incapable of fulfilment. And the political unrest has brought to the surface and positions of local leadership "elements of Mexican society whose main purpose is the looting of their fellow citizens." The disappointed ambitions of some of Madero's former associates, and the dissatisfaction of others with the policy of the new government, "make the future of the Madero administration exceedingly uncertain, and at any moment may cause its downfall."

CANADA AND WOMEN EMIGRANTS

THE English society known as The Colonial Intelligence League for Educated Women aims at supplying reliable information to girls wishing to settle in Canada, and it is to be complimented on the method it adopts to secure such information at first hand. Miss Ella C. Sykes, one of its members, visited the Dominion as an ostensible "home-help"; took five positions in four provinces; and publishes (in the *Cornhill*) her experiences for the benefit of real emigrants. According to her narrative, the position of "home-help" seems to be a sheet anchor for the woman immigrant in Canada. Miss Sykes herself had

thought that her college education would have assisted her, had she become a school teacher, but she was not strong on mathematics, and these were a *sine qua non*. Not having any dexterity in a manual art, she perforce joined the ranks of the home-helps. She reached her destination, Calgary, and was taken in at the Women's Hotel, where she received comfortable accommodation. After inserting an "ad" at a newspaper office, Miss Sykes made her way to the Y. W. C. A. to see if she could get work.

The only thing that the secretary had on her books was the post of general servant in a house

where the wife was ill, and there were four children; and the matron at my Hostel offered me a situation 29 miles from the railway and among a Mormon community. . . . On my way home I saw a notice in a confectioner's shop that a girl was wanted as a waitress, so I went in and asked to see the manager. "Would I promise to stay the whole summer?" This I could not engage myself to do, so I was reluctantly obliged to give up the idea.

In Canada, as elsewhere, there are of course a certain number of women immigrants who would far better have stayed at home. Miss Sykes thus describes one whom she met at Calgary:

Some of the inmates of the Hostel had no right to be in Canada at all, and had come out after reading the alluring literature in which things are, to say the least of it, seen through rose-colored glasses. One lady, elderly and far from strong, who had had good posts in England, had actually taken her ticket for the Dominion after a talk with an enthusiastic Canadian lady who had spoken vaguely of the 'crowds of openings for women.' My poor friend did not find many when she arrived in the country, and when I met her she was worn out with much work and little pay at one of the Indian Missions, and was having a rest before trying her luck afresh. She was skilful with her needle, and could dressmake, but, as she could not use a sewing machine, it would have been impossible for her to get work in a land where "more haste" is *not* always considered "worse speed." It was pathetic for one of her upbringing to have to go as housekeeper to three men on a ranch, and I confess that I saw her off at the station with considerable misgiving. Some months later, in passing through Calgary on my way east, I called at the Hostel, and found her back again. Her health had broken down at the ranch, she had also had an accident, and was about to take a post as housemaid in a "rooming" house for a month, at a low wage, after which she hoped to get work again as a home-help.

In certain advertisements Miss Sykes always stated that she wished to assist the *mistress* of the ranch or farm. This did not prevent widowers from replying. Here is one of the answers she received:

Dear Madam: I seen your "ad" in the Province. I have 100 and 20 acres of land of my hone, it is all payed for I lost my wife 4 years ago I ham 36 years of age I have horses and cattle and a lot of chicken would you cair to go in Parners with me as I want to settle down again. Pleas let me know by return mail. . . .

She wondered how many other "ads" he would answer before he found any woman willing to "go in Parners" with him.

Some of the immigrants who might secure positions for which they are suitable, absolutely refuse to take them, having made up their minds to a certain course. One such Miss Sykes mentions. She was an excellent

milliner, but the bare idea of seeking work in the shops was abhorrent to her. Said she: "I hate the idea of it. I want to live in a home and arrange the flowers and help the lady of the house with her correspondence." Not finding any post of this kind, this would-not-be milliner took a position at an hotel in the Rockies, where the high altitudes proved "too much for her nerves."

Canada seems to be no place for immigrant nurses. According to Miss Sykes,

all nurses should know that they cannot get on, in Calgary, at all events, unless they have a general hospital certificate for three years. I made friends with one nurse, who had had two years of general hospital training, and had been seven years as district nurse, and yet, with all that experience, she got very few cases, although they were certainly lucrative when she *did* get them, as 21-25 dollars (4£ 4s. to 5£) a week was paid for a case. Other English nurses told me the same tale of lack of work, and two were going out as home-helps in despair. At another town I came across a girl who had been a trained nurse at the Liverpool Children's Hospital, but she could get no nursing work, and being a skilled seamstress, took a post as needlewoman and housekeeper combined. She had to sew from 9 A.M. to 6 P.M. and do household duties before she began her work, so it was hardly surprising that her health gave way, and that she hated Canada and longed to return to England.

Miss Sykes met with a few successful cases of which she describes two:

I met two sisters who had come out with the firm determination to work hard for three years and to take whatever post was offered to them. The result of their efforts was a comfortable bungalow to which they have retired in independence, intending to keep poultry for the rest of their days. Again, the matron of a Y. W. C. A. home told me that she was the daughter of a Scotch captain in the Navy. When her father died the family was left very badly off and she supported herself by teaching. She arrived in Toronto at the age of 17 with sixpence (12c.) in her pocket. She learned stenography, was three and a half years as bookkeeper, ultimately got a post in a bank where she remained 20 years. She spent seven years teaching the Indians. Now she has two farms, valuable stock and building lots, and in fact is very well off.

Miss Sykes, as the result of her experiences, offers the following opinions for the benefits of intending emigrants:

I consider that Canada is a land of opportunity for the young, strong and resourceful, who are not afraid of hard work and who can cheerfully adapt themselves to entirely new conditions.

In order to succeed a girl must be skilled in something that the country wants, such as teaching, stenography, dressmaking, poultry or vegetable raising; a knowledge of the domestic arts being absolutely essential. I do not, however, recommend an educated woman to become a home-help, save in certain districts, though she

might do worse than take such a position for a month or so until she found work more to her taste.

Canadians are, as a rule, most capable and efficient, and have no use for the incompetent, who will find the Dominion a hard country, with few to care whether they sink or swim, and it ought to be clearly realized that the girl who is a failure in England will not be a success in Canada, and is quite

unfit to help in building up our great Empire overseas. . . .

Examples, and my own experiences, brought me to the conclusion that very few on the wrong side of forty ought to try their luck across the Atlantic, because they will find it very hard, if not impossible, to adapt themselves to an entirely new environment. I consider also that the occupation of home-help has not been presented in its true light.

A WORKING PROGRAM FOR THE BRITISH SUFFRAGISTS

THERE seems to be a lull in Woman Suffrage affairs on the other side of the Atlantic. Possibly the rejection, on its second reading in the House of Commons, of the so-called Conciliation Bill has taught the lesson that militant tactics are a failure. This at any rate should be the logical result. In the opinion of those qualified to judge, this latest turn in events should "make earnest and thoughtful suffragists reconsider the whole position of their cause." This view is expressed in the *Contemporary Review* by Mr. E. Crawshaw-Williams, M. P., who says further:

If they [the suffragists] are wise, they will see that . . . any attempt to attain Woman Suffrage by a conciliation of almost opposite schools of thought must be in all probability a fruitless endeavor. The outstanding difficulty is that, argue as the suffragists may, there is a large number of convinced democrats who hold an unshakable belief that it is as important sternly to uphold the principle of democracy as it is to abolish the sex bar to the franchise, and who believe that to introduce a property qualification for women almost at the moment when it is proposed to do away with it for men would be an illogical and foolish proceeding. It is hardly too much to say that if Woman Suffrage is to be attained, this section of thought must inevitably lend its coöperation. It follows that the real conciliation measure of the future must be so framed as to bear on its face the impress of democracy, and go hand in hand with the Government Reform bill.

The suffragists will doubtless say that the country is not ready for adult suffrage, and that they cannot wait until it is ready. But,

if woman is to obtain the vote in the near future, she must obtain it by a policy which has neither an undemocratic savor nor the defect of swamping the electorate with a mass of women. Is this intermediate policy between the Conciliation bill and adult suffrage a possibility? If it is, surely suffragists would be wise to adopt it instead of wasting their energies on futile compromises.

The *Contemporary* writer sets forth a number of standards to which, if it is to succeed, the new bill must conform:

It must not set up a property qualification. It must be obviously democratic at first sight, and it must not need argument to prove it so. It must not admit to the franchise a larger number of women voters than there are, or will then be, men voters; and, if possible, it must restrict the numbers so as not to frighten the more timid woman suffragists.

Presuming that the Government Reform bill, promised for this year by the Prime Minister, is to introduce manhood suffrage at a certain age, "all that it is necessary to do in order to graft on to this a harmonious, simple, and moderate form of Woman Suffrage, is to provide for womanhood suffrage at a suitably higher age."

It is quite evident that by a process of raising the age-limit for the women's vote, the number admitted to the franchise could be fined down to any extent; but since to restrict the vote to ancient dames of over eighty would be not only open to criticism, but possibly also to ridicule, it is clear that any substantial and adequate measure must provide for the admission of a considerable number of women. It is no good blinking the fact that no democratic solution of the franchise question can avoid a large number of new women voters; but it is obvious that the adoption of an age-limit as the basic qualification opens the way to a scale of modifications, all of them of an essentially democratic nature, and that at least the great argument against complete adult suffrage, that it would enfranchise more women than men, is at once overcome. In other respects, the policy of adult suffrage with a higher age-limit for women than for men fulfils all the requirements laid down for a true conciliation measure. Nor need advocates of complete adult suffrage look askance at the proposal. Adult suffrage in its entirety is the only ultimate and logical solution of the franchise question; and it would not take many years to reduce the age-limit for women down to that for men, if, as is certain, the new departure proved a success.

This is the policy which appears to offer the greatest hope to woman suffragists in England. Indeed, this writer asserts that the solution of the problem of participation in political life is now well within their grasp.

GOVERNMENT RAILROADS IN SWITZERLAND

GOVERNMENT ownership and operation of railways is a subject that interests the student of economics and the general public alike. For several years writers on railway problems have speculated on the success or failure of the federal railways of Switzerland; and it is only now, when the first decade of their existence has been completed, that sufficient data upon which to base a judgment in regard to governmental management have become available. In the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* Dr. A. N. Holcombe makes an exhaustive analysis of the Swiss experiment, from the passage of the law authorizing the taking over of the steam railways by the Swiss Government (October 15, 1897). This law was accepted by the people in February of the following year by a vote of 386,634 to 182,718, or more than 2 to 1. There were then five main lines of steam railway in the country; and, arrangements having been completed with the companies, the *Generaldirektion* of the federal lines met for the first time on July 1, 1901.

Briefly, the aims of the Swiss Government in its new venture were: lower rates and additional facilities for shippers and the traveling public, improved conditions for the railway employees, better management generally, the elimination of foreign influence from the conduct of the lines. Dr. Holcombe shows the measure of success obtained by the government under each of these heads.

The popularity of the plan was undoubtedly one of the leading factors in the victory of the policy of public ownership. It was desired that the administrative organization should be made independent of political influence and yet that it should be so closely connected with the government that there would be no danger of its becoming a state within a state, a body that might come into conflict with the government itself. Hence the administration of the federal railways forms a separate division of the federal administration, and the finances of the railways are entirely disconnected from the finances of the Confederacy.

The supreme authority in railway matters is the Federal Assembly. Then there are the Federal Council, which carries out the policies of the Federal Assembly, and the Administrative Council. The last named is a popular feature of the scheme among the shippers and the public generally, a certain number of its members being chosen with regard to the interests of agriculture, industry, and commerce, respectively. The government has retained three classes of passenger service; but the second and third may be

omitted from express trains, and the first may be omitted from accommodation trains.

The relations between the state employer and the railway workers have been most harmonious and free from friction; the workers have never struck, nor even threatened to strike. The reason is not far to seek. Care has been taken from the beginning that the employee should have "a square deal." We read:

The highest rates paid on any of the private roads were adopted as the minimum rates for the corresponding classes of the federal service. . . . An eleven-hour day (which is less than the usual continental European working day) was established, with the further provision that every train crew should have at least ten hours of unbroken rest in each twenty-four.

When, on the ground of increased cost of living, the Federal Assembly was petitioned by the men for a supplement to their regular wage, the "courteous tone of the employees' petitions and the reasonableness of their request" was noted, and grants ranging from 50 to 100 francs annually were made to each married employee and each unmarried one with persons dependent on him. These "high-prices-increments" were granted in 1906, 1907, and 1908, and finally in 1910 a permanent general increased wage schedule was adopted.

With regard to freight, the classification is relatively simple.

Provision is made for the special classification of raw materials used in agriculture, and of some other commodities. Special rates may be made out of consideration for foreign competition and to secure transit traffic from competing lines, provided that domestic shippers are not injured thereby. In times of public distress the Federal Council may make special rates on foodstuffs and livestock. . . . The pledges of the Federal Council relating to rates . . . were carried out to the letter.

As to the financial result of the governmental operation of the railways, there is considerable difference of opinion. Dr. Holcombe cites two writers, each of whom is a trained investigator—one saying that "the railways are more than paying their way," the other, that "they are a drain on the taxpayers." The explanation seems to lie in the fact that net earnings are applied to the amortization of the railway loans.

The Swiss regarded the funded debt in the light of a mortgage upon their railway property, and determined to own their property clear of such

charges before diverting net earnings to the federal treasury.

When it outlined the advantages of nationalization, the Federal Council calculated very closely; and any abnormal conditions would naturally produce temporarily abnormal profits or losses. Though the railways have had to face deficits year after year, "these deficits have been more apparent than real." The payment of increased wages to the employees, for which no provision had been made, has been courageously main-

tained, and by a vigorous policy of retrenchment the second decade of the Swiss federal railways "begins auspiciously with an estimated surplus, the first budgetary surplus since the government's railway policies have been in effect." In Dr. Holcombe's opinion, the charge that lines are "a drain on the taxpayers" is not sustained. On the contrary, he maintains that "the Swiss federal railways have already reduced rates, improved the service, raised wages, and made a profit."

PRUSSIAN IDEALISM IN GERMAN POLITICS

IN their bearing on the political relations of England and Germany, two articles, entitled respectively, "The Key to German Politics" and "Prussian Idealism," from the pen of Mr. Philip Ferris, in the *Westminster Review*, are interesting by reason of the novel hypothesis put forward to account for the condition of affairs which for some time past has given such grave cause for alarm to Europe in general and England in particular. The judgment of this writer is that Englishmen cannot understand the principles and motives that prompt German political actions; and, on the other hand, that Germans hold the methods and principles actuating the English to be defective, that the lines upon which the British Empire has been built up are wrong lines, the key to the whole situation lying in the fact that whereas the Englishman proceeds from sense to ideal, the German sensualizes the ideal.

In developing their nation, says Mr. Ferris, "the English have taken, above all other guides, great Nature herself, and have been contented to wait simply, perhaps inarticulately, upon her in her courses."

Committing themselves to the deep, they have departed into far countries, where they have worked hard and long, through dark and light, some planting, and others watering, till the beautiful thing just grew, and now there is hardly any village so small in any land, however remote, where some one will not step forward to greet the traveler, asserting that he speaks English.

The manner in which they have put their empire together, piecemeal, is the method they live by in general. To whatever material they give their attention, geographical or ethnological, they work upon it just as they find it, bit by bit, and form a whole from the parts. . . . Every new enlargement of their horizon has deepened their feeling of drawing nearer and nearer the ramparts of the world, has increased their sense of responsibility, and has filled them with the belief that the kindly method which has led them so far through the

visible world will still guide their steps through whatever lies beyond it.

Their manner of dealing with other races has been the same . . . they have arrived at a great vision of a common humanity, of which the different nations are but adumbrations. This . . . is the reason why, for suffering peoples, England is humanity itself, and why everything English is held for a model. The nations formerly copied the Englishman's constitution; now they envy him his empire.

But this amalgamating of mankind, and the peace necessary for it, "has been energetically rejected by one wilful opponent—the German nation—on the ground that the whole procedure is wrong and immoral."

Especially is the English method of subjecting reason to experience felt to be at fault, to be something unintelligent, mythological, and fatalistic. The Prussian masters Nature not by obeying, but by prescribing laws to her. Nature does not command man; man is the measure of all things. This is the great doctrine that Germans are so proud of having discovered. . . . The jerry-built British Empire would be much more tolerable to Prussian eyes if Pitt, or Queen Elizabeth, or Alfred the Great, or whoever else is credited with having started the movement, had had the advantage of reading Hegel. They would then have learned that among the means by which a small state can be made great, there is, besides the method of toiling and colonizing, the alternative one of scheming and conquering. If the rise of Britain is like the growth of a plant, that of Prussia is like the unexpected hatching of a cannon-ball.

The ground of the Englishmen's failure to understand German statesmen is, Mr. Ferris thinks, partly the difficulty of the German language, and partly that they (the Englishmen) "have from the beginning fallen into what is called the sympathetic fallacy, that is, attempting to explain the actions of a strange party by one's own feelings."

Taking for granted that the internal structure of Europe is homogeneous, they have concluded that

something true in Spain, Great Britain, France, or Russia, would also hold in Germany, unaware that the names, law, religion, art, and sentiment do not connote the same conditions in Germany as they do in the rest of Europe.

The German view of German history may be said to hinge upon two dates, the Peaces of Frankfurt and Westphalia; and these "must be kept always connected, so that every clause of 1871 is directly conditioned by something in 1648." By the Thirty Years War Germany was "wiped out"; her land was wasted, and the financial devastation was so great that it was not until 1850 that she was again on the footing of 1625.

Of the interests that stimulated the war the German remembers nothing—only the ruin. His re-

gard for the differences between orthodoxy and reform are not beneficent. . . . Whatever influence Christian teachings or the moral views symbolized by them still have in other lands, in Germany they have next to none. The old ways of thinking have disappeared from top to bottom, through and through. Now in this point Prussia has done Germany good service; for, in addition to her superior military organization, which, accepted by all the other German states, proved stronger than the veteran legions of France, it was Prussia that elaborated the marvellous system of philosophical idealism, which corresponds so exactly to the new feeling, and which is to Germany what the Greek Church is to Russia, the Anglican Church to England, the Roman Church to France, and Mohammedanism to the Arabs—a means of brotherly communication and the public expression of the highest ethical models. Cultivated Prussians, Bavarians, and Austrians all equally use idealistic terms on solemn occasions.

HAS A NEW BIOLOGICAL LAW BEEN FORMULATED?

IT is a well-known fact that more boys are born than girls. The proportion of excess is represented by the figures 106 and 100. This proportion was established in the days of the Venetian republic, when they used to drop a white ball into an urn at the birth of a boy and a black ball at the birth of a girl. The same figures are obtained from modern accurate statistics. Yet it remains an equally well-established fact that everywhere the number of male adults is less than that of female adults.

Starting from these facts and correlating them with the discoveries made by Dr. Hermann Swoboda, of Vienna, concerning the periodicity of human life, Dr. V. Fliess, of Berlin, has groped his way to what seems a new biological law—namely, that human existence may be regarded as built up of biological periods corresponding to the number 23 for men and the number 28 for women. It reminds us of the rings that indicate the age of a tree. The difference may be that in man we have to deal with a substitution rather than an addition.

The discovery of Dr. Fliess has been supported by the evidence gathered by Dr. H. Schlieper, also of Berlin, and has won further corroboration at the hands of a Norwegian student, Christian Claussen, who has set forth not only his own findings but also those of the two Germans in a recent issue of *Samtiden* (Christiania). What they come to is that the natural life period of the male is shorter than that of the female, and that for this reason nature provides more males than females. Out of the excess in male births

and the excess in female life length may be formulated an equation that seems to establish a constant proportion.

Fliess tries to show, says Dr. Claussen, that this proportion expresses a natural law which determines not only the relation of birth and death, but also the relation of one birth to another within the same family. Thus the length of time from a man's birth to his death, if that death be "natural," proves divisible into periods of 23 days. And the length of time between the birth of two children by the same mother becomes equally divisible—that is, by the figures 23 or 28.

Dr. Claussen gives some examples from Norwegian genealogical tables. One of these, showing the birth dates of six children, is particularly striking. From the first to the second child there were 644 days, or 28 times 23 days. Between the second and the third, 663, which has to be resolved into two periods: one male of 13 times 23, and one female of 13 times 28. And it is interesting to note that the child born at the end of that period was the only one of six to die young—having lived just 23 days. From the third to the fourth child the distance was 812, or 29 times 28, days; from the fourth to the fifth, 805, or 35 times 23, days; and from the fifth to the sixth, 506, or 22 times 23, days.

Finally Dr. Claussen quotes Professor Wilhelm Ostwald as saying of these discoveries that, with all possible allowance for mistakes, "there remains under all circumstances so much that is valuable and new, that it may be taken for granted that science will be largely helped by these ideas."

FRANCE IN AFRICA: HER OCCUPATION OF FASHODA

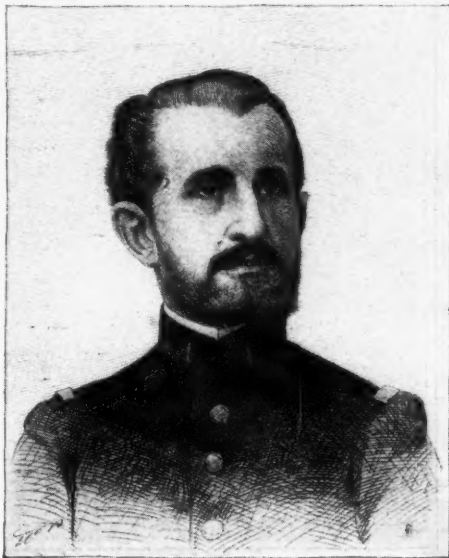
IT is now fourteen years since the press announced to the world that a French expedition, which had left the Atlantic coast of Africa in April, 1896, had succeeded in crossing the continent and reaching Fashoda, the end of May, 1898. The officer in charge of that expedition was Captain (now Colonel) Marchand, who, in the *Revue de Foyer* (Paris), gives a sketch of his eventful journey. Colonel Marchand, in introducing his subject, seeks to emphasize the fact that France is preëminently a colonizing nation. He pays a high tribute of praise to Brazza, who in the valley of the Congo "represented magnificently the penetration and colonizing capacity of the French."

As the crow flies, the distance covered by the Marchand expedition was about 8000 kilometers, but in reality the party traversed nearly 17,500 kilometers in its journey from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, land and boat passages included. An idea of the completeness of the outfit and the scale upon which the expedition was planned, may be gained from the following facts presented by Colonel Marchand:

For the transport of necessary material and provisions for the revictualing of the party, the expedition employed the services of 23,000 persons, of whom 17,000 were porters and 4000 were native travelers, engaged in divers capacities; 28 river steamers; and several hundreds of canoes manned by 2500 canoeists. The number of convoys, from the start in April, 1896, successively reformed during the journey across the continent to the Red Sea, exceeded 1300. Every kind of locomotion was employed, including man, boat, railway, wheelbarrow, stretcher, horse, dog, ass, ox, and camel.

The principal points at which the convoys were reformed and reorganized were Brazzaville, Bangui, Mobaye, Ouango, Bangasso, Rafai, Tamboura, Fort Desaix Fashoda, Baro at the foot of the great mountains of Ethiopia, Goré at the summit, Addis Ababa, Menelik's capital, and finally the entrance to the desert Dankali. It appears that during the whole of the expedition an interval varying from 1200 to 2500 kilometers separated the vanguard from the rear of the party. Only once could the entire party be said to be united after leaving Loango on the Atlantic coast, and that was twenty-eight months later at Fashoda.

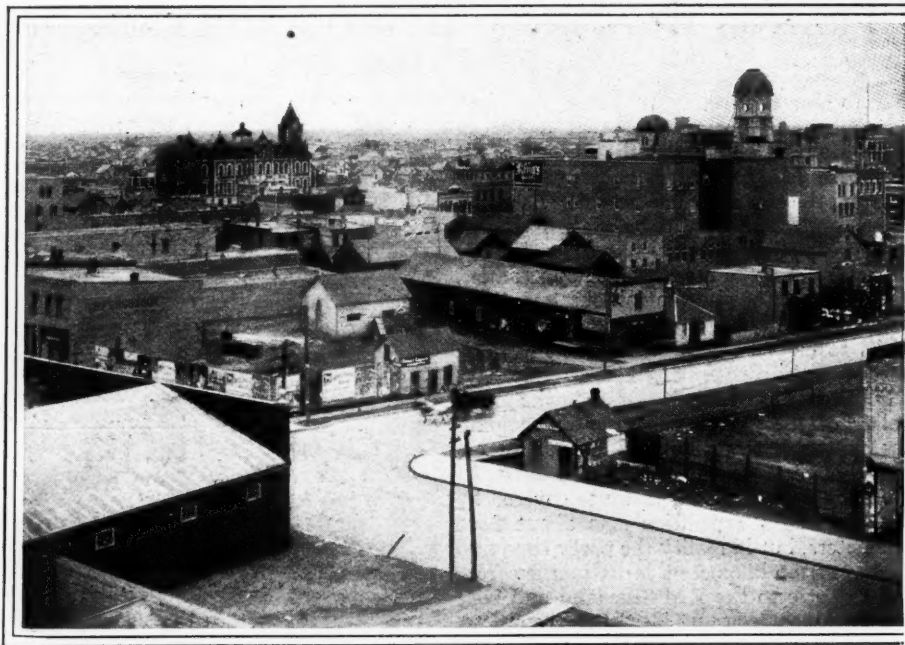
Colonel Marchand illustrates his sketch with photographs of the most interesting features of the journey. In passing through the



COL. MARCHAND, THE FIRST HERO OF FRANCE'S
AFRICAN EMPIRE
(From a recent photograph)

country of the Banziri, he noticed the abnormally long hair worn by the women—the longest in the world, as he puts it. He adds, however, that it was artificial! In the Oubangui, the great affluent of the Congo, they encountered large numbers of hippopotami, the bodies of which were eaten by the natives. One of the chief obstacles encountered was the great swamp into which the waters of the Soueh flowed. Here all roads ceased completely. The area was covered with a giant kind of reed and dwarf rushes: the Colonel terms the district "an aquatic prairie." Emerging from the great swamp, the country of the Chillouks was entered, the people numbering a million and a half and prosperous. The sultan Abd-el-Fadil was attended by two or three of his ministers, "somewhat *en déshabillé* for excellencies."

There was nothing specially interesting about Fashoda. Legend assigned it to the days of the Queen of Sheba, when it was one of her capitals, under the name of Denab. Its name now is Kodok. On leaving Fashoda the explorers used the steamer *Tewfikieh*, one of two taken by the dervishes at Khartoum. On quitting the Nile by its affluent, the Sobat, the steamer bearing the expedition, the *Faidherbe*, was wrecked.



A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF REGINA.

REGINA, SASKATCHEWAN--AN OLD-NEW CAPITAL

OF few towns, villages, or cities can it be said, "Once a capital, always a capital." Yet this is how Regina can correctly and concisely describe its own history. At first it was the seat of government of the old Northwest Provinces, a distinction which it probably owed to the fact that it happened to be situated on the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and not to any natural beauty, appropriateness, or anything indicative of possibilities of future greatness. Indeed Dr. Begge, the historian of the Northwest, describes the site as a "blank, unattractive spot," and suggests that it was chosen for the capital as a compromise to offset the rival claims of Troy—Qu' Appelle and Fort Qu' Appelle. But this was twenty-five years ago; and, although Regina remains to-day a typical prairie town in many respects, it has proved its right to existence. This is the claim advanced by Miss Emily P. Weaver in the *Canadian Magazine*, and the lady has no difficulty in proving her case. She writes:

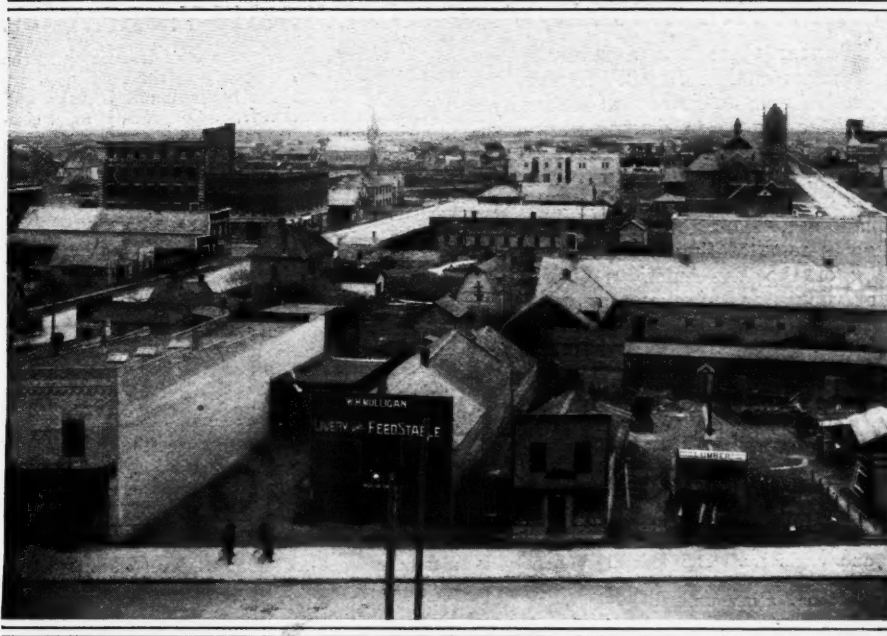
It is not with Regina as with many capitals, which, occupying some commanding eminence, or standing beside some commodious harbor or mighty river, appear to have been destined from the beginning for a great center of human industry.

Regina is situated by a mere rivulet, the Wasicana or Pile of Bones Creek; and, so far as the making of the city is concerned, it has been with the little capital as with many heroes of industry and finance. She may be described as "self-made," for her good fortune is largely due to her own exertions, or, rather, to those of her citizens.

I had almost said of her children; but, considering that, if one counts from the advent of the first settler, Regina is only thirty years old and that many of her inhabitants are very newcomers indeed, the time-worn metaphor is hardly appropriate. Rather one must think of her citizens as her fathers and her nurses who delight in her growth as parents rejoice in the strength and vigor of their firstborn and who labor to acquire for her a large share of every good gift attainable in the way of civic privileges and transportation facilities.

It was in 1885 that the name of Regina first became familiar to all Canadians in connection with the trial and execution of Louis Riel; and, as a result of the inquiry into his rebellion and the following investigations of the grievances of the Half-breeds, the first elective Assembly of the Northwest Territories was convened at Regina in 1888. At this time

its population still numbered only a few hundred souls, and at the beginning of this century it had not two thousand people all told. Yet the hour of



THE CAPITAL OF SASKATCHEWAN

its awakening was close at hand. . . . By the opening of the twentieth century, the restless enterprising American pioneers, finding the scope of their energies continually narrowing in their own country, turned their attention to the Canadian West. Soon they began to migrate across the border in steadily increasing numbers, and the fact that prosperous American farmers thought this a good enough country to emigrate to, proved a persuasive argument with people of the British Isles and other parts of Europe in opening their eyes to the merits of the Dominion.

From 1903 the progress of Regina has been rapid. During the four years 1901-1905 its population more than trebled; in 1910 the total had grown to 18,500; and last year, owing in part to newcomers and in part to the extension of city limits, the population had risen to 25,000, or about ten times that of a decade earlier. Regina's development has been due to the fact that in recent years the city "has never lacked a full complement of public-spirited citizens, who have worked to advance its interests as keenly as they work for their own." For instance,

Regina can boast that her handsome City Hall, which was completed in 1908 and cost \$200,000, did not add by one cent to the burdens of the taxpayers. . . . On its own land the city has constructed a system of spur tracks, which can be extended as required; and it offers sites for warehouses at the low price of \$200 a lot with a 25-foot frontage.

Doubtless the greatest factor in Regina's prosperity has been facility in the matter of transportation. Since the Canadian Pacific many other railways have included Regina in their systems, until to-day it has more than a dozen lines running out of the city. Regina is the distributing center for a district of more than 60,000 square miles; and in one respect—the distribution of agricultural implements—it is said to lead the world. According to the article under notice, "in 1910, Regina firms sent out to the farmers of the district no less than \$25,000,000 worth of implements, and no doubt the figures for this year will be still higher."

The city owns its waterworks and electric light and power plant, and has put in operation the first street railway in Saskatchewan. Regina already boasts some seventy-five miles of graded streets and covers an area of about thirteen square miles. The pride of Regina is the new Parliament Buildings, looking upon a lake formed by damming up (for seven miles by half a mile) the waters of Wascana Creek. A few rods distant are the barracks of the Mounted Police of which Regina is the military headquarters. Regina was so named by the Marchioness of Lorne in honor of Victoria the Good, and "now reigns the capital city of Saskatchewan by the vote of the representatives of the people."

AN EMPIRE WITHOUT A UNIVERSITY: BRAZIL

LAST year there was a revolution—a bloodless one, in Brazil. A new law, called a “*reforma de ensino*,” abolished by a stroke of the pen the privileges and prerogatives of faculties in law, in medicine, and in engineering, some of which had existed for nearly a hundred years. Theoretically, this law made a complete revolution in the professional schools of Brazil. Writing in the *Bulletin* of the Pan-American Union, Dr. Edgar Ewing Brandon says:

Up to the present time Brazil has the unique distinction of possessing no universities. . . . All degrees have been abolished as unsuited to a democracy. Instead of the coveted doctorate, conferred with cap and gown in an elaborate ceremony, the graduate now receives a simple certificate of having finished the presented course of study. This statement entitles him to the right to practice his profession. Any school, therefore, whether Federal, State, or private, may prepare physicians, lawyers, dentists, pharmacists, and engineers. The federal monopoly is gone. For this reason the “*reforma*” is said to grant “freedom of instruction.”

As any sect, society, city, or state may found a professional school or university, it might have been expected that the result would be the foundation of a large number of non-state universities, not subject to national regulations. But a paragraph in the new law may make professional courses more national than heretofore. We read:

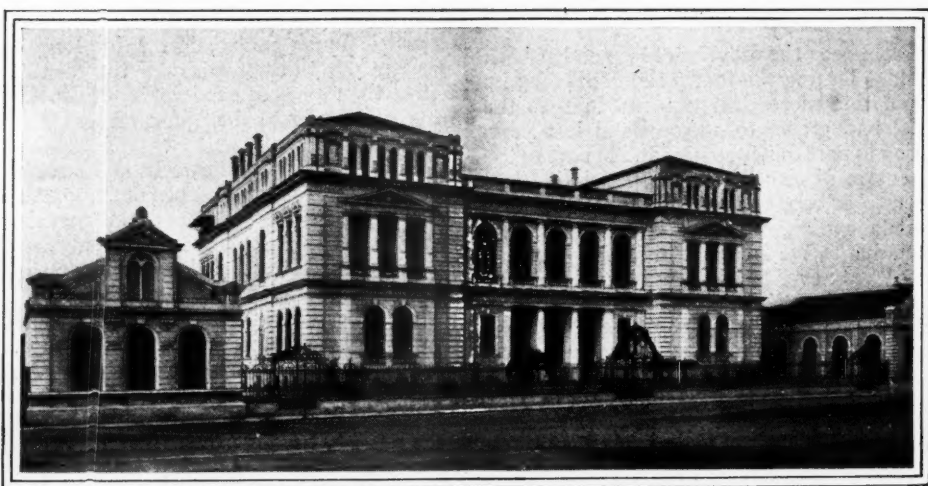
If a faculty is self-supporting, it has under the new law complete freedom. It can regulate the

length of its course, the age of its students, the number of its professors, and the system of instruction. If, on the other hand, it asks and receives a subvention from Congress, it must conform in the essentials to the standards presented by the law, such as length of term and order of studies, and the professors must be appointed by the government from a list submitted by the faculty. . . . It seems probable that instead of loosing the professional schools from the control of the central government, the new law will bring them into more direct subjection, and instead of a very limited number of national faculties, there may arise many more in different centers, but all equally national.

It appears that academic degrees were abolished in the hope of “lessening the intellectual proletariat.” For

to be a “doctor,” whether of jurisprudence, medicine, or mathematics, has long been a distinct honor in Brazil, as in many other countries of Europe and America. Almost every son of a well-to-do family set this as his goal; and if the young man did not himself have the ambition, the parents strove to implant the desire and fostered it with all the influence of family pride. In either case it was not with the intent that the young “doctor” should practice conscientiously his profession and in that way be a useful and honorable member of society. Not more than 20 per cent. of the doctors of jurisprudence practiced law or ever intended to do so. A scarcely larger percentage of the doctors of medicine followed their profession. For the vast majority in all the schools the goal was not the profession, but the gilded title. The result was not merely a social and intellectual waste, but a national evil.

It is in the matter of secondary education that the new law works for absolute freedom.



POLYTECHNIC SCHOOL, ONE OF THE CELEBRATED SCHOOLS OF SAO PAULO, BRAZIL

(It has a very complete and modern laboratory, and its courses of study are practical)

These schools are now completely divorced from the professional faculties.

A certificate of graduation from a "collegio" will no longer admit to a professional school. All students must pass an entrance examination fixed and administered by the particular faculty. This policy is theoretically correct, considering actual conditions in Brazil; but it may result in the evil of young men studying only to pass the entrance examination, and not with the aim of acquiring a real education. Already there is appearing the special preparatory-to-examination school, and the

race of skilful tutors who "insure" their pupils against the risks and dangers of the examining board.

There are half a dozen centers of higher education, all in the larger cities of Brazil: the capital and São Paulo with schools of law, engineering, pharmacy, and dentistry; Bahia and Porto Alegre, with law, medicine, and engineering; Bello Horizonte, with medical and law schools, and Recife with a law school only.

THE FRENCH ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC AND THE OPENING OF THE PANAMA CANAL

AMERICANS as a rule recognize the importance of the Panama Canal that is to be for the trade between the Atlantic coast and the western shores of both North and South America, and, in a vaguer way, its effect upon the trade of Europe and the eastern United States with the Orient; yet few, we imagine, have thought of a phase of the matter which has of late been discussed: the effect of the opening of the new waterway upon the commercial value of certain of the Pacific islands which up to this time have played but a very minor part in the world's affairs. M. Numile, in a recent number of *Cosmos* (Paris), calls upon his countrymen to seize the opportunity now offered to secure for the French islands in the mid-Pacific the commercial importance which their position makes possible if not actually certain.

Last December the French Minister of the Colonies obtained a grant to pay the expenses of a commission whose duty was to study conditions in the Caribbean Sea and in the Pacific, and to report to the ministry what work should be undertaken to place French ports in those regions in a position to handle the traffic which must result from the opening of the Canal. The most important part of the commission's investigations will have to do with the islands of the Pacific.

The direct route from Panama to Melbourne or to Auckland passes through, or very close to, the Tuamotu or Low Archipelago, which is under French control. Moreover, the mid-point between the isthmus and the Australian coast lies on the edge of this group. The English, well aware of the importance for the Pacific trade of a coaling-port in this neighborhood, have offered to purchase from the French the small island of Mururoa, in the heart of the Low Archipelago, as the

site for a British port-of-call. To this proposal M. Numile advances strong objection.

Naturally the writer exhibits some feeling when he recalls the part France has played in the projection of the Suez and Panama Canals, only to see them pass later out of her hands,—in the case of the second, at least, after the absorption of immense sums of French money. As a species of poetic justice, he regards a profitable coaling-port in the mid-Pacific as a means of returning to his country a part of the loss she has suffered. From Panama to Australia is about 15,000 kilometers or 9320 miles. To cover this distance without recoaling is impracticable for most classes of steamships. It may be that the use of liquid fuel will change the situation; but at the present time sailing vessels alone can afford to remain at sea while on such voyages and still earn dividends. The realization of this fact has long since led the British to develop Cape Town, Aden, Colombo, Singapore, Hong Kong, as ports-of-call where coal, provisions, and water may always be had, whether the ship be British or not, and—as is usual with matters conducted with prudence and liberality,—this policy has been exceedingly profitable from the business standpoint. If well chosen, such ports become distributing centers where local trade and trunk lines come together, to the great benefit of each. M. Numile takes for an example, Aden: situated in a sparsely settled, almost unproductive, country; built upon the naked rocks, at the most sterile point in Arabia; where rains are as a rule three years apart and the only available water is that which has been distilled and is stored in vast tanks; where the poorest vegetation is regarded as a luxury;—and yet Aden has a population of 45,000, and more than 120 vessels stop each

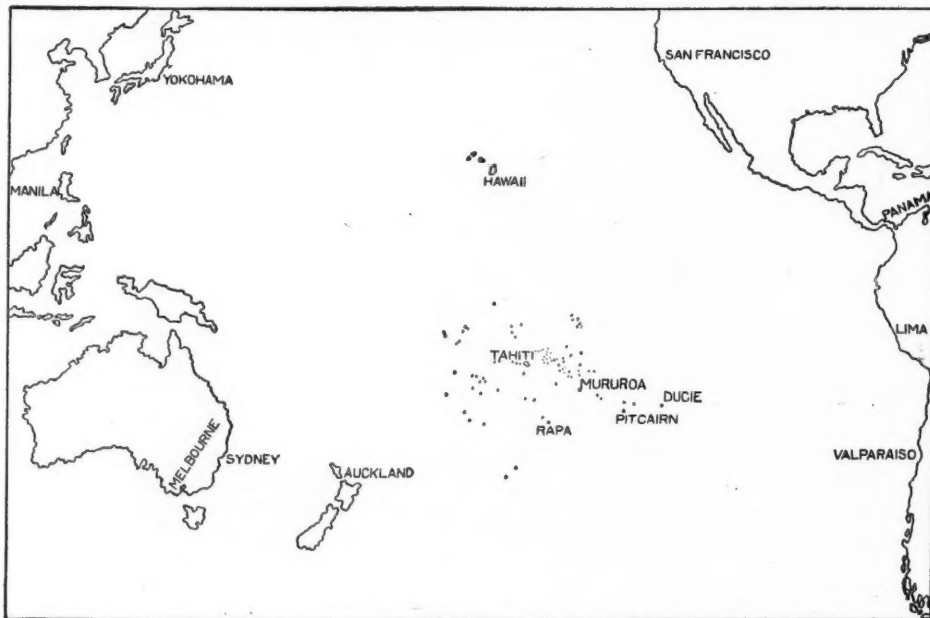
month for coal. There is no manufacturing other than the annual production of 100,000 tons of salt, yet the trade of the port amounted in 1910 to \$30,000,000. Only a short distance away is the French port of Djibouti, the stopping-point for a number of subsidized liners; but poorly equipped and—according to our author,—“characterized by the inefficiency which belongs with everything French beyond the seas.”

Here is an analogous strategic position, another Aden, which our cousins wish to develop upon a French island which they are to purchase from us in an archipelago providentially placed upon the route of future navigation. We should also have a port, since they ask only a single island from among a hundred which we possess. But they will transform Mururoa into another Aden, while Pape  te, or Port-Pha  ton, or Rapa, will remain a kind of Djibouti, receiving only the leavings of a trade *which must come to us*, if we part with none of our possessions. To develop this port would evidently cost us millions; if the State cannot provide them, a chartered company could act for it. Abundance of material for construction work is to be found in Guiana whose hardwoods are incomparable for durability. It is true that the penal administration [of Guiana] would find it hard to overcome its dislike for employing its abundant workers upon some useful work.

M. Numile goes at considerable length into a description of Mururoa, the island desired by the British, and of Tahiti and Rapa, others of the Low Archipelago which exhibit, in his opinion, advantages over Mururoa as sites for an important commercial station.

Speaking broadly, the Low Archipelago, comprising numerous groups of islands, islets, and reefs, covers a vast area of the southern Pacific Ocean, its greatest diameter being about 1500 miles from northwest to southeast. Mururoa lies toward the southeast edge of the group, but surrounded by other islands at greater or less distances, and apparently not to be reached except by very careful navigation. Its position is: $21^{\circ} 50'$ south lat.; $138^{\circ} 40'$ west long.; about 4660 miles from Panama and the same distance from the southeast coast of Australia; about 2800 miles from New Zealand. The island is small, consisting of a low ring of land surrounding a lagoon, except for the entrance from the sea on the north side. Everything which a port-of-call would have to supply for visiting ships—coal, provisions, fresh water, naval stores—would have to be provided as at Aden.

Mururoa's competitors for the honor of becoming the great emporium of the South Pacific, in the opinion of our author, would be Tahiti and Rapa. The former is the seat of the French administration in this part of the world and is the most important island in the Low Archipelago. It possesses two harbors, that of Pape  te, the seat of government, open to the north, and that of Port-Pha  ton, on the south. It goes without saying that to convert either of these into a port-of-call for large steamers would involve large expense;



ISLANDS OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC

M. Numile considers the second far more worthy of consideration by reason of its area, depth of water, freedom from high winds and ease of defense. Unlike Mururoa, Tahiti has a considerable area of fertile soil, and numerous streams from the mountains would supply abundance of good water. The climate, as in all these islands, seems to be healthful, and the vegetation is so luxuriant that the Tahitians are famous for their indolence,—Nature providing practically everything they require with a lavish hand. It is a curious index of the relations existing between the French colonies and the mother country that practically all the trade of Tahiti is with Great Britain.

The position of Tahiti is: $17^{\circ}30'$ south lat.; $149^{\circ}30'$ west long. It possesses the same disadvantage as Mururoa in that it is surrounded by other islands, reefs, etc., and these render the navigation of the neighboring waters by no means easy.

Much further to the south: $27^{\circ}35'$ south lat.; $144^{\circ}17'$ west long.: lies the little island of Rapa, on the great circle connecting Sydney and Panama. Of volcanic origin, it rises from the depths of the sea far from other land; hence the approach to it is much easier and attended with less danger than is that to Mururoa or Tahiti. Although its area is small—only about half that of the city of Paris,—it is dominated by high hills, one of which reaches to a height of nearly 2,000 feet.

In a sort of crater among the hills lies the bay of Ahourei, connected with the sea by a deep and narrow fiord; the depth of water in the bay is ample, it is protected by the hills from heavy winds, and it is capable of easy defense. The soil of the island is fertile, its climate is healthful, sea-food is abundant, and deposits of lignite have been discovered capable of supplying fuel for local use. For the various reasons suggested, M. Numile considers the harbor of Ahourei the best for a South Pacific coaling-port and urges the immediate inauguration of the work of its development.

The supplies of coal for the port to be chosen could be secured from New Caledonia, whose mines have never been developed to their full capacity, and even from the deposits of Hongoy and Kebos, in Indo-China. This would be a way to provide for the output of the mines developed in competition with those of India, Japan and New Zealand. The mineral wealth of the Indo-Chinese coast is considerable and the product of the mines can be loaded on ship-board at the mine itself. Ships and men are not lacking.

M. Numile points out that none of the islands controlled by the British in the South Pacific has, at the same time, the two fundamental requirements: a good harbor and a good strategic position. Ducie and Pitcairn possess the latter, but not the former qualification. Hence the interest taken by John Bull in the tiny island of Mururoa.

AUSTRALIA'S DOUBTFUL FUTURE

READERS of the REVIEW may remember an article entitled "A White Australia and the Australian Fleet," which appeared in the issue of August, 1911, commenting on a declaration by the editor of the *Sydney Bulletin* to the effect that Australia had figuratively "put its foot down" on the matter of colored immigration; that "Australia is to be a white Australia."

The Australian fleet (when there really is such a fleet) will be found (when the day comes for defining the situation) to exist, first, for the purpose of keeping Australia a white man's country against all comers, and second (only second) for the defense of the British [mostly colored] Empire.

It now seems to be quite within the range of possibility that the Australian Commonwealth may be compelled to fall back upon a policy of "immigration without restriction, save that the colored immigrants would be prohibited from crossing certain defined

boundaries." A number of articles have lately appeared, all pointing to the grave danger which threatens Australia in respect to the sparsity of the population of her great Northern Territory. The *Morning Post* (London), for instance, says:

The calamity of Australia being overwhelmed by an Asiatic invasion; the disaster of seeing her territory occupied by a European power, willing and able to give it effective occupation—neither of these prospects can be viewed with an easy mind. Yet the Australian people, by their apathy in regard to immigration, seem to invite one or the other.

If they will not populate their land and develop its wonderful riches, somebody else surely will. With every year the open spaces of the earth dwindle, and the pressure of fecund populations increases. Australia must be filled, by the British race or by some other. With the present-day government of that country the issue rests. . . .

The Northern Territory is in the position to-day of a land which is not "effectively occupied." Australia could be accused of a dog-in-the-manger policy if she said "No"—as inevitably she would

say "No"—to the request of a foreign power for leave to occupy it for colonization. Yet to-day only the might of the British arm stands in the way of that request being made.

Australia must occupy the territory to make her tenure of it secure. At least a million people are needed to give it even a sparse sprinkling of inhabitants. . . .

It is, indeed, remarkable, in view of all the facts, that the Australian people should still dally with the problem of peopling their country, still cherish illusions, still refuse to face realities. It is the more remarkable because on another great national issue, that of defense, they have shown a wise promptitude in recognizing facts and in adopting sensible precautions. But all their courage and wisdom in that regard probably will go to waste if they will not recognize that their garrison for a continent is too thin, and that the time to strengthen it is now.

The settlement of the Northern Territory is, however, only one part of the difficult problem of the peopling of Australia. To quote further from the *Morning Post*:

All over the continent there is a lack of population, and for many years the rate of increase has been most unsatisfactory. A study of the Australian census figures over thirty years shows that if the rate of increase, by births and by immigration, secured during the ten years 1881-1891, had been maintained during the following twenty years the 1911 population would have stood at 6,272,000, instead of the present figure of 4,455,000.

In the *National Review* Mr. George Gascoyne goes so far as to say that, "in the question of its tropical areas there looms before the Commonwealth the most terrible problem any of the Dominions will ever have to face." He points to the fact that the Northern Territory, four-fifths of which lie within the tropics, has an area of 523,620 square miles—two and a half times the size of France—with a total population (in 1908) of but 16,573, including whites (1081), resident Chinese, Japanese and other foreigners (1892), and aborigines (13,600). Thus, "one of the richest areas in the world, emphatically earmarked for the white race, is, after seventy-five years of direct possession, occupied by appreciably less than a thousand white adults." Mr. Gascoyne advances several arguments with reference to the peopling of the Northern Territory, which he summarizes as follows:

I contend (1) that the Northern Territory can never be colonized by indentured labor, because the Asiatic races will no longer consent to sign indentures which prescribe compulsory repatriation; (2) that the alternative of free immigration of Asiatics would soon submerge all restrictions, with disastrous consequences to the rest of Australia; (3) that in any case Northern Australia would have to be colonized by yellow men, and not by brown men.

At present the Australians do not intend to admit colored labor. They propose to people their northern tropics with white settlers. But where are these settlers to come from? "The southern Australian states are desperately in need of millions of more settlers. Few white men will care to make their home in the north when they can acquire holdings in the milder south." Recognizing the well-known fact that "Australians tend to concentrate in towns to a degree unknown in any other country in the world," Mr. Gascoyne holds that

the Northern Territory can never be won to civilization by a town-loving people. It will have to be developed by a race content to live in villages, like the people of India and Java. . . . If the Australians will not populate the Northern Territory, can white settlers from over seas be expected to do so? Emigrants from Great Britain and Germany and Sweden, or even from Italy, will never be persuaded to live near the Equator, trying to grow rice and tobacco and cotton, or perhaps wheat, in competition with colored men across the Eastern seas who can live handsomely on twopence (four cents) a day. Even if it were possible for white men to engage continuously in tropical agriculture, the proposition would be economically unsound. But it is not possible. I do not believe that any white race will ever people Northern Australia, and rear hardy vigorous sons able to fight for their lives, as they would certainly have to do at some time or other. The lands of the monsoons are eternally set apart for the colored races. I have lived many years in the tropics, and have seen the white races in several tropical countries; and, deeply though I sympathize with the policy of a White Australia, it is my unalterable conviction that the north can never be developed and held by whites.

The only thing that could save the north for the Commonwealth would be "the rearing, beyond the twentieth degree, of a race of millions of virile white men and women, able to stem the yellow flood." Meanwhile

Asia is awake and militant, and is discovering once more the secret of the sea. The swarming millions will not be content to wait for a century or two, while a handful of white men try to find out whether they can live and work and breed in one of the richest regions of the world. . . . Northern Australia is to the yellow races a Naboth's vineyard, and it lies empty and open and inviting. The nearest precedent is the case of Tripoli, which Italy has just annexed in pursuance of her economic necessities, with the sanction of every power in Europe. Is it likely that the yellow races will admit that there shall be one law for Europe and another for Asia? Only until they get sufficient ships and guns.

And once a million or two Chinese are established near the northern seaboard of Australia, the door can never be shut.

KING OF JOURNALISTS AND BEST OF MEN—A FRENCH TRIBUTE TO WILLIAM T. STEAD

OF the many tributes to the memory of the late William T. Stead which have appeared on the other side of the Atlantic, one of the most remarkable, from many points of view, is that by M. Jean Finot, editor-in-chief of *La Revue* (Paris), formerly the French *Review of Reviews*, occupying no less than twenty-two pages of his magazine. Immediately beneath the title, "Le Roi des Journalistes, le Meilleur des Hommes," are printed two quotations from Carlyle ("That good man Stead") and Cardinal Manning ("When I read Stead, it seems to me that Cromwell has come back from the dead"), respectively. The gifted French editor, who was on terms of the closest intimacy with Mr. Stead, speaking of his friend's character, says:

Our epoch is prodigal of talents. At no time in history, perhaps, could one count in the various domains so many original intellects. But what we lack especially is strong and vigorous characters with ardent convictions, capable of going so far as to sacrifice to their ideals their fortune, their life, and their success. In the midst of our fluctuating ideas of man and the universe, religion and morals, progress and destiny, a sort of antagonism, a discrepancy, manifests itself everywhere between our tendencies and our lives, our beliefs and our acts. The *Titanic* catastrophe has demonstrated this: we know how to die worthily, but we do not know how to live humanly. . . . And we ought to greet as heroes those who in their daily lives present the uncommon spectacle of men living by and for a great ideal. It is from this point of view that I propose to examine certain episodes in the life of Stead.

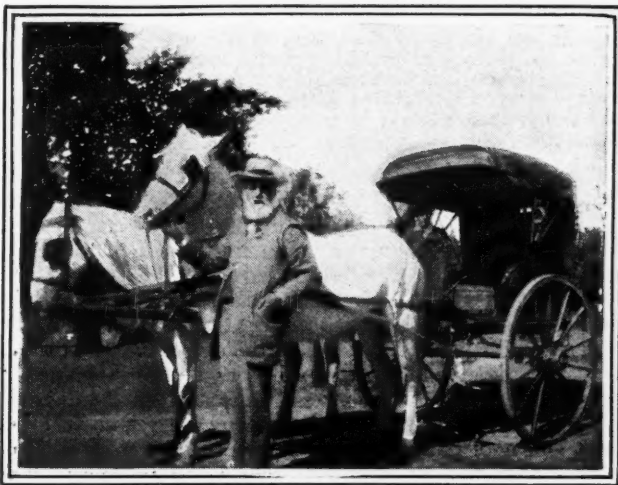
Referring to the affair of Stead's imprisonment, his French coworker writes:

His campaigns were memorable. One often hears of those which led to a jail sentence for Stead; but people are wont to forget those on the English navy, followed by many others, relative to various abuses of which the England of that day was the victim. When he began his Homeric war on the white slave traffic and the secret vices of noblemen, noble lords, and wealthy and powerful men, Europe and the whole world followed with intense interest those acts of superhuman courage on the part of a journalist. What evoked sympathy for the writer was his evident good faith, his prophetic style, his illimitable devotion to justice, and his unbounded fearlessness. These were perhaps the most heroic and the

happiest years of Stead's life. Alone he succeeded in rousing a country against vices of all sorts, in saving the existence of thousands of women, and in aiding the triumph of virtue, ever his idol. . . . The months passed in prison were perhaps the most symbolic of his life: they were in any case the most decisive for his future activity. . . . Henceforward he glorified the beauty of isolation. He there collected his forces, his inspirations, and his thoughts for struggles more and more intense.

In considering Stead as a sort of king of journalists, says M. Finot, never was title more justified nor better merited.

From every country there came to Stead applications for his aid in defending the cause of truth and justice. Sovereigns themselves did not disdain to call him to their side in order to interest him in their great and generous conceptions. Thus the ruler of the Russias invited him to St. Petersburg before issuing his appeal for the first Hague conference. . . . It is well known with what devotion Stead worked at The Hague. . . . He was among the most devoted and convinced on the subject of arbitration; but it is not generally known that Stead spent a little fortune in his enthusiasm for the cause. The Russian Government desired to recoup him the expenses for his long propaganda, but Stead declined any reimbursement of his large expenditures. . . . His greatness of soul impressed itself on every one. The most representative men and women of England, such as Gladstone, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Manning, and Queen Alexandra testified their affection and esteem for him. His vast study, unique of its kind, was filled with hundreds of photographs of the celebrities of the times. And, a remarkable thing, kings who ordinarily restricted their dedications to a simple signature of their names, showered upon Stead evidences of their sympathy and friendship. Beside the holders of temporal power were also the princes of science, literature, and the arts;



W. T. STEAD IN SOUTH AFRICA

for to read Stead was to know him, and to know him was to admire and love him. Confidences came to him from all parts. He became a sort of spiritual father for troubled consciences and for those obsessed with an ideal.

One of the most interesting portions of M. Finot's article is his reference to the relations of Stead with Cecil Rhodes. He tells us that

a sort of mystic adoration for Stead prompted Rhodes one day to write him long letters from the Transvaal. Stead had already at a distance conjectured that energy and will power were among the characteristics of him whom he surnamed the "Napoleon of the Cape." One day Rhodes, like a thunder-clap, presented himself in Stead's study. Their conversation was short and significant. Said Rhodes to Stead: "You have many good and noble ideas, and I have many millions to aid you in realizing them." The two energies joined forces, and a hearty handshake sealed the union.

For some years Stead had been accustomed to make unannounced visits to his friend Finot at the latter's retreat far from the busy life of Paris.

One morning Stead burst in on Finot and, with that infantile gaiety, unstudied and full of charm, and peculiarly his own, asked brusquely, "Will you go with me to hell?" This hell, in the Biblical language with which Stead embellished his secular conversations, was nothing else than a world-wide journal—or perhaps two journals, two gigantic and profoundly human enterprises.

Cecil Rhodes had asked him a few days previously: "What would you do, Stead, if you suddenly found yourself in possession of a million pounds (\$5,000,000)?" Stead did not hesitate an instant. In his talks with his intimates, he had often urged the necessity of founding an international journal, independent of advertisements, subscribers, finance, governments, and "of the devil himself." His reply was ready: "I would found an English journal such as England has never yet seen, and another for the Continent such as Europe has perhaps never had." And Rhodes, with his characteristic simplicity of gesture and sobriety of speech, answered him: "Establish your two journals: I hold at your disposal the million pounds you will require."

The two journals were never founded. The friendship of Stead and his Mæcenas was destined to a severe strain during the Boer War. M. Finot gives an interesting summary of the incidents which led up to the estrangement. Convinced that the war was an unjust one, Stead even went so far as to say that England, if disloyal to the cause of justice, deserved to be wiped from the face of the earth. Stead's letters on the subject of this war are, says M. Finot, among the finest and noblest in the latter's possession. It was characteristic of Stead that when Rhodes died, and public opinion in England

showed itself singularly hard upon its former favorite, "the voice of one just man was heard above the concert of scandal. Stead did not hesitate to proclaim publicly the merits and the virtues of the man who had once called him friend and had cast him off."

As to Mr. Stead's attitude toward Germany, M. Finot says:

He wanted to bring all the professionals of England and Germany in contact, in order that, knowing each other better, and thus being able to appreciate each other, they might the better love one another. But his successive journeys to Germany opened his eyes. He began to understand the fatal force which was pushing the German Empire toward the domination of the world. And then, braving ridicule, he declared himself the advocate of two keels to one.

As instancing Stead's remarkable independence of character, M. Finot relates the efforts of the present Sultan of Turkey to induce Stead to accept some compensation for the expense he had been put to in connection with his visit to Constantinople last year. The Sultan offered him a check. Stead desired the sovereign to send it to the Peace Society at Berne. The Sultan then begged his acceptance of a personal souvenir, and handed him a gold cigarette case set with diamonds. Stead realized he could not well offend his Majesty, but was determined to maintain his independence. So he compromised by asking the Sultan if he would condescend to accept a small object from him, and solemnly handed his Majesty a gold-mounted Waterman fountain-pen. The Sultan was delighted. Said he: "I have often dreamed of possessing one, but this is the first I have ever received in my life."

M. Finot devotes some pages to Stead's associations with spiritualism, remarking in one passage: "With that unshaken conviction which characterized his faith, he assured me that the thing [communication between the living and the dead] was possible, and that he knew that he could prove it to me." He closes his sympathetic and interesting article by comparing Stead to Marcus Aurelius, the desolate Stoic and also one of the most active emperors that Rome ever had. In Stead's case his activity in spiritualism never caused him to deviate a hair's breadth from his set course in regard to his social and political propaganda. "Before the sovereign Death all the detractors of Stead join with his admirers in saluting him as one of the most worthy and most representative sons of their noble country. . . . And Stead dead is more alive than ever!"

THE REAL PERSONAL CHARACTER OF THE POETESS SAPPHO

THE recent announcement of the discovery, by Dr. Hunt at Oxyrrhynchus, of a papyrus containing still another fragment of a hitherto unknown poem of Sappho, the famous Greek poetess, has impelled Dr. Theodore Reinach, the French literary critic, to a careful analysis of all the evidence which goes to establish the popular idea that the poetess of Mitylene was of the *hétaira* or courtesan class among Grecian women. He has offset against this evidence two other fragments of Sapphic poetry, discovered a year or two before at the same place and deciphered and published by Dr. Hunt in a recent issue of the publications of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Unfortunately for his purpose the most recent "find" has not yet been published and hence is not available. The argument and conclusions of Dr. Reinach are in the form of a communication to the French Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, and have been made public in a recent issue of the *Temps*.

Dr. Reinach tells us that "the sands of Egypt have lately restored to us the precious remains of three or four little manuscript poems by Sappho, interesting by reason of their novel metre, in strophes of three verses, which were to be published shortly in Berlin. He deplors the fact that so little of the work of Sappho has been restored to us, especially in view of the recent discovery of a long lost poem of the Bœotian poetess Corima. Hers he characterizes as a "sweet and pretty talent," but one in which "we search in vain for that something, of flame, of color, of passion and above all of personality, which the word lyricism would suggest to the mind of the modern reader."

In glowing language, Dr. Reinach now heaps encomiums upon the writings of Sappho.

There is not a line, however brief, that does not reveal, by its brilliant scintillations, a nature in which nothing is mediocre

and which cannot love indifferently, like the concentrated sun-fire in the foreshortened diamond. . . . There is exquisite choice of words, the style, the natural and bold turn of thought, the grace of imagery, the magic flexibility of rhythm.

On the other hand he admits quite freely that

grave differences of opinion have existed, since antiquity, concerning the social position and the moral worth of this woman. Was she a courtesan or a *grande dame*? May we see in her the lofty and pure figure of the impassioned muse, whom Plutarch compared to Pythia on her tripod, or a vulgar paramour and unspeakable follower of vice?

Concisely put, this is the question, the solution of which Dr. Reinach seeks in the somewhat elaborate discussions which he sets forth.

The modern idea of the frailty of the character of Sappho dates back about sixty years, when a man of broad intelligence, in a study which attracted wide attention, assigned to Sappho a panel of honor,—if I may so express it,—in the gallery of Greek courtesans.



THE GREEK POETESS SAPPHO
(From an old Print)

Dr. Reinach traces this, which he regards as a misconception of the true character of the poetess, to the writers of the Middle Comedy [404-340 B.C.] who,

in search of characteristic types, met with the far-off, enigmatical figure of Sappho, head of a school of music and poetry, with such joy of life, such liberty of thought and speech, such baffling frankness in the expression of those most intimate sentiments, that they found no parallel for such a prodigy in the middle class of Athens. They did, however, find some in the world, or the half-world of venal coquetry, with its uncertain boundaries, —the pleasing but irregular party wavered between the Aspasia and the Phrynes.

In short, Dr. Reinach finds that the times had changed and that what was permissible in woman, in Sappho's time, two centuries before their day, was not permissible then; and hence the comic writers, "with that absence of historic sense which characterized their age and their kind, did not hesitate to make of Sappho a courtesan, the chief even of courtesans."

Thus characterized by the fancy of the comic dramatists and this characterization accepted without question by those artificial writers, who called themselves *Hermecœux* and *Chameleon*, and later by the fathers of the Church, the figure of Sappho the courtesan has become so incorporated into literary history that the learned Alexandrians did not dare wholly to reject it. However, as between the shameless *bacchante* and the noble poetess whom, Aristotle says, the *Mityleans* honored, the contrast is impressive.

Modern scholarship, Dr. Reinach finds, has inherited these contradictory traditions and perplexities; but he feels sure that were we to possess a complete collection of the poems of Sappho, internal evidence would suggest sufficient proof of the untruth of the scandalous idea of her character. He urges that in classical Greece, women of lofty station and noble family, such as was Sappho's, were invariably of good character. He argues:

If we can discover in the poems of Sappho a certain proof that there existed in her, not alone an exalted sense of personal dignity, but a very lively concern for the speech of people, and for points of honor in herself and in hers, do we not discover that which brings about the destruction, to all human sense, of the absurd tradition of the moral obliquity of Sappho?

Following this line of argument, Dr. Reinach brings forward what he regards as a clinching argument, the fragment discovered a few years ago by Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrrhynchus. The story is not new—that

of the attachment of a brother of Sappho, Charoxos by name, to an Egyptian *hétaira*, Rhodopis by name, whom he purchased and freed and upon whom he lavished the greater part of his fortune. The proof that the reproaches of his sister, with which she met the knowledge of his prodigality, were called forth by the personal disgrace which he had brought upon himself and his family, and not by the loss of the property, Dr. Reinach finds in this fragment, which has been deciphered by Dr. Hunt and thus translated:

Sweet Nereides, grant to me
That home unscathed my brother may return,
And every end, for which his soul may yearn
Accomplished see!

And thou, immortal Queen,
Blot out the past, that thus his friends may know
Joy; shame his foes—nay, rather let no foe
By us be seen!

And may he have the will
To me, his sister, some regard to show,
To assuage the pain he brought, whose cruel blow
My soul did kill.

Yea, mine! for that ill name
Whose biting edge, to shun the festal throng
Compelling ceased awhile; yet back ere long
To goad us came.

In this poem Dr. Reinach finds "a touching fraternal sentiment, simple yet sweetly affectionate even in the reproach it implies," and also a sure and certain proof that here is a Sappho who is 'cut to the heart by the little innuendoes which tarnish the good name of whomsoever they touch,'—a Sappho who could not possibly be of the character ascribed to her by the Athenian comedians."

Dr. Reinach pursues his subject further also by examining the Berlin Sapphic fragments which serve to bring into relief one known phase of the life of Sappho,—that of a leader of a coterie in Greece devoted to the study of music and literature, the proprietor, in effect, of a boarding school, or conservatory where these things were taught. The Berlin fragments are ascriptions to the virtues and character of one of the young girls, who has for a time been one of her pupils, but who has been summoned to return home. After studying these freshly discovered words of Sappho, Dr. Reinach feels positive that

we are able to affirm with a little more assurance than before that, if she was neither a saint, nor above all a prude, at least when she endeavored to instruct her young companions, to bring them nearer to her heart, to mold them after her own image, it was certainly not the courtesan, endeavoring to form other courtesans, but true women in all respects like herself, enjoying like her all the beauties of life.

THE NEW ROLE OF THE GOVERNOR



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GOVERNOR CHESTER H. ALDRICH
OF NEBRASKA

GOVERNOR JUDSON HARMON
OF OHIO, CHAIRMAN

GOVERNOR HERBERT S. HADLEY
OF MISSOURI

THE COMMITTEE OF GOVERNORS WHO ARE REPRESENTING THE STATES BEFORE THE FEDERAL SUPREME COURT IN THE RAILROAD RATE CASES

CONDITIONS have changed considerably since Madison asserted in the Convention of 1787: "The executives of the States are in general little more than ciphers; the legislatures omnipotent." And Mr. Bryce, should he have occasion to issue a new edition of his "American Commonwealth," would probably be disposed to change his view concerning the State legislature, of which he said: "The State legislature is so much the strongest force in the several States, that we may almost call it the government and ignore all other authorities." The fact is that "a popular distrust of the legislature has arisen and steadily grown until it has become one of the most striking political phenomena of the present day." So writes Mr. J. M. Mathews, of the University of Illinois, in the *American Political Science Review*; and he asserts that

a history of State legislatures would be largely concerned with the successive development of various methods of curtailing the almost absolute power which those bodies originally possessed. . . . This general movement has manifested itself in the transfer of legislative power from the legislatures (a) to the courts, (b) to the people, and (c) to the governor.

The increasing influence of the governor over legislation is "the comparatively new rôle which he is now beginning to play, and which, in its relation to popular control of

government, bids fair to become one of the most important developments in the history of the State governments." By means of his veto the governor has from the beginning exercised a certain amount of control over legislation; and the tendency of constitutional development has been toward increasing the legal power of the governor over the shaping of legislative policy. But

this tendency has not yet advanced far enough to give the governor any very real and effective control. . . . The plain fact is that the governor is held responsible for controlling the course of legislation, but is not given the legal power commensurate with that responsibility. He can sometimes block vicious legislation, "jokers," "riders," and "jobs," but he has legally no correlative power of initiating and pushing through legislation which is demanded by intelligent public opinion. Unless the governor is given both these powers, he ought not rightfully to be held responsible for the course that legislation takes. But . . . the people are holding him responsible because he alone stands out conspicuously among State officers.

This state of things has "led some publicists to advocate the entire abolition of the legislature," and others to advocate "a thoroughgoing reorganization of the State governments upon entirely new lines." But a development is taking place which may render such reorganization both unnecessary and undesirable.

"The whole country," says Governor Wilson of New Jersey, "since it cannot decipher the methods of its legislation, is clamoring for leadership, and a new rôle, which to many persons seems little less than unconstitutional, is thrust upon our executives." . . . By the gradual accretion of precedent, and by the growth of custom, the governor is forging the instrument of control over both the initiation and the passage of legislation. This extralegal instrument is the personal influence of the governor, supported by the full force of "pitiless publicity," and public discussion.

It is in securing the passage of so-called "administration bills" that the personal influence of the governor comes into play. These bills are nominally fathered by some member of the legislature, but really emanate from the governor. Further,

In some States we find the governor appearing before informal meetings of legislative committees, discussing with them questions of public policy, and advocating the measures that public opinion demands. The personal influence of the governor is not the influence of coercion or the selling of appointments for favorable votes on administration bills. . . . The real influence of the governor over the legislature, as Governor Wilson has pointed out, consists in his power to represent, to persuade, and to lead the people. If by his qualities of leadership and the force of his arguments he can persuade the people during the campaign, the same qualities will give him such a personal ascendancy over the legislature after his election that he will

be able to lead that body also. The legislature must be led by some person or persons. . . . The bosses have too frequently dictated the passage or the sidetracking of measures. In his new rôle the governor becomes the virtual boss and shapes the course of legislation for the general benefit, instead of for private and special interests.

Not every one can successfully undertake this new rôle of the governor; only men of unusual ability are capable of playing it; but

the opportunity which thus presents itself for the display of statesmanlike qualities will induce a much abler type of man to become a candidate for the office than has hitherto been the case.

The significance of the increasing influence of the governor lies in the fact "that through him the people have found a means of controlling the formulation of public policy." The power of the boss hitherto has been due to the fact "that he has performed two functions which must of necessity be assumed by some one. "These are the dictation of legislation and the appointment of nominally elective officers. In order to make the power of the governor fully commensurate with his responsibility, it will be necessary to reduce the number of elective State officers and to vest in the governor a greater power of appointment and removal.

THE SCIENTIFIC MAN AS AN ART CRITIC

DR. WILLIAM J. S. LOCKYER, who has the good fortune to be the son of Sir Norman Lockyer, the great astronomer and astrophysicist, and who is further known to fame for his own scientific attainments, paid a visit to this year's exhibition of paintings at the Royal Academy, and reports his impressions in *Nature*.

We are not aware that any modern painter borrows a leaf out of the book of Apelles, and hides behind his canvases, when on exhibition, in order to hear and heed the criticisms of the chance spectator who happens to know what he is talking about. If such were the modern custom, our artists would learn much wisdom from the lips of shoemakers and scientists; but since it is not, Dr. Lockyer's plan of publishing his criticisms in a widely read journal, where they may chance to fall under the eyes of the persons most concerned, is highly to be commended.

Here are some specimen comments:

Rain Clouds: Bosham. Moffatt Lindner. The large nimbus is far too solid-looking and lacking

in detail. Such a cloud in nature is full of detail, both in structure and light gradations. As here depicted it looks like a lump of dough.

The Approaching Shower. Beatrice Bland. Both clouds and falling rain are well represented. The shower, however, is not approaching but traveling nearly from left to right, as indicated by the slant of the falling rain.

Submarines and Torpedo Craft: Old Portsmouth. W. L. Wyllie, R.A. Most excellent clouds, showing the result evidently of much observation. Indications of ascending air and upper horizontal air currents very natural. Reflection on water well graded.

The Walls of England. R. Gwelo Goodman. Absolutely impossible skyscape.

The Home Port. W. Ayerst Ingram. This would be a fine picture if the rainbow were omitted. The sun is setting on the right of the picture more than 90° away from the observer. This can be gathered from the position and sunlight on the ship in the center of the picture and other illuminated objects. As one of the fundamental conditions for seeing a rainbow is that the sun should be at the back of the observer, it is not possible for a rainbow to be included in the picture under the existing sunset position.

Such criticisms have too seldom been passed upon the skylscapes of prominent artists. Many years ago the English painter

Elijah Walton published a book on clouds, in which he pointed out the startling fact that a very large proportion of paintings, including those of the old masters, are grotesquely untrue to nature in their skies; but this book is little read, and appears to have had no great influence for good.

Now and then the scientific journals call attention to the more egregious blunders of this sort, such as the amazingly common habit of turning the horns of the new moon in the wrong direction. More than one astronomer has expressed the irritation with which he and his colleagues behold a painting of the night sky in which the stars are scattered about absolutely at the caprice of the artist, without the slightest regard to the real form of the constellations. On the whole, however, the scientific sins of painters pass unnoted so far as ordinary art criticism goes.

Dr. Lockyer is, among other things, a meteorologist, and it is a part of his *métier* to be familiar with the typical aspects of the sky, including the forms of clouds. So, also, one would suppose, is it a part of that of the landscape painter. Why should one be a more accurate observer than the other?

The reason is obviously this—because the man of science has, in addition to the knowledge gained by his limited personal observations, that collected by a multitude of his colleagues and digested according to the process of scientific induction. He knows, for example, that the, at first sight, infinitely variable forms of clouds can be classified into a few simple types—a discovery made over a century ago by the immortal Luke Howard.

The elements of astronomy and meteorology ought to be taught, along with anatomy, in every art school.

WHY DO WE LAUGH?

A WRITER, who does not sign his name, contributes to the current *Edinburgh Review* an erudite discussion of laughter. As to its causes and its general "content" he says:

We must assume that at any moment the existing quantity of liberated nerve force which in some way, little understood, produces in us the state we call feeling, must expand itself in some direction, and if of several channels one or more is closed, or partially closed, the discharge along the remaining one must be more intense. Laughter is a display of muscular excitement and so illustrates the general law that feeling, when it passes a certain pitch, vents itself in bodily action. It is not a sense of the ludicrous only; there is sardonic laughter, hysterical laughter from mental distress, laughter from tickling, and, under certain conditions, from cold and certain kinds of pain.

If now we have this overflow of nerve force, undirected by any particular motive, it will manifestly take the most habitual route. It is through the organs of speech that feeling passes into movement with the greatest frequency. The muscles round the mouth, small and easy to move, are the first to contract under pleasurable emotion. The class of muscles which may be considered next most easily set in action by feelings of all kinds are those of respiration. We breathe more quickly under excitement of any kind, so that it is not difficult to see the likelihood of convulsive movements of the respiratory organs being set up. If the feeling still continues and increases, the muscles of the upper limbs are set in motion, the hands are rubbed together or clapped, the knees slapped, the body is swayed backward and forward.

Proceeding in his argument by quoting Herbert Spencer's "Physiology of Laughter," the writer observes:

We do not laugh simply at any incongruity, but when the unexpected state of feeling aroused is less in intensity, so leaving us, as it were, with something in hand to be expanded—i. e., when the attention is transferred from something greater to something smaller—and this Herbert Spencer describes as "descending incongruity." A simple example will make this clear. If we watch a door opening slowly with the full expectation of the entrance of some imposing and important personage, and then instead there trots in a small dog or some quite unimportant and insignificant person—we laugh. We were prepared adequately for the greater event, and we have a supply of nervous energy over. If, on the other hand, we reverse the process and the incongruity is of a marked degree of the opposite kind—i. e., unexpectedly important—we are left with an insufficient stock of nervous energy and are more likely to be left motionless, with our mouths open, until we have time to recover ourselves.

He then reviews at length the definition of wit and humor that they have made at various times, and quotes M. Henri Bergson as saying that "the attitude, gestures and movements of the human body are laughable in exact proportion as that body reminds us of a mere machine." He concludes with this attempt at a definition of humor:

As soon as we use the expression "sense of humor" it is widely recognized as at once defining and limiting the use of the word in a peculiar way. It betokens a certain kindly, tolerant, broad-minded point of view, keenly alive to inconsistencies and incongruities, quick to note and to place in a view where they become patent the small failings and absurdities, but at the same time with a sympathetic understanding which suggests a nature large enough to see the faults and yet not to be repelled by them.

SOME LIVELY TURKISH OPINIONS ON THE WAR

THE Turkish press has permitted itself to become very much worked up over the Italian attempt to force the Dardanelles and the capture, by the Italian fleet, of the Turkish islands in the Eastern Mediterranean. In her inauguration of this new phase of the war, the Turkish periodicals generally see the "fine Italian hand" of Russia.

Italy endeavored to arouse Europe on the question of the closing of the straits. The attack, however, failed and no intervention took place. The Turkish journals claim that the Ottoman diplomats gained a great victory in inducing Europe to recognize Turkey's right to close the straits in time of danger. The Porte also, say the journals, gained further in the sight of Europe by refusing to submit to the veiled threats of Russia, which power, according to an agreement made with Italy some few years ago, had been planning to force Turkey to open the straits to Russian warships from the Black Sea.

The editorials in the Turkish press congratulate the government at Constantinople on having requested Russia not to send more troops to the Caucasus, and also on having asked an explanation of the speech recently made in the Russian Duma by Foreign Minister Sassonov endorsing Italy in her Tripolitan campaign—"expressions which are incompatible with the declared neutrality of the Russian Empire."

Speaking of Russo-Turkish relations at the present moment, and making special reference to the speech already referred to, the *Jeune Turc* says:

All Europe has been disturbed by the adventurous diplomacy of Sassonov. The continent has noticed with suspicion the sudden withdrawal of Tcharikov, the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople, the concentration of Russian troops in the Caucasus and of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, the rumors of Italo-Russian agreement, and the successive endeavors of Russia to bring an end to the war favorable to Italy. . . . The Sublime Porte, in asking the Russian government for an explanation of this situation, has shown that courage and conviction which will secure the recognition and respect of other nations. Turkey has compelled Europe to recognize that she is no longer the decrepit, and worm-eaten organization of Hamidian times. . . . From now on, Russia will find us more tenacious in Persia. She will learn that the present war, instead of making us weaker, has rendered the Ottoman nation more persevering, united and courageous.

Referring to the closing and opening again

of the Dardanelles, this same journal says: "Russia has acted too hastily. She has become isolated from England, and even France, her ally, does not approve of her policy." Commenting on the war itself, the *Jeune Turc* continues:

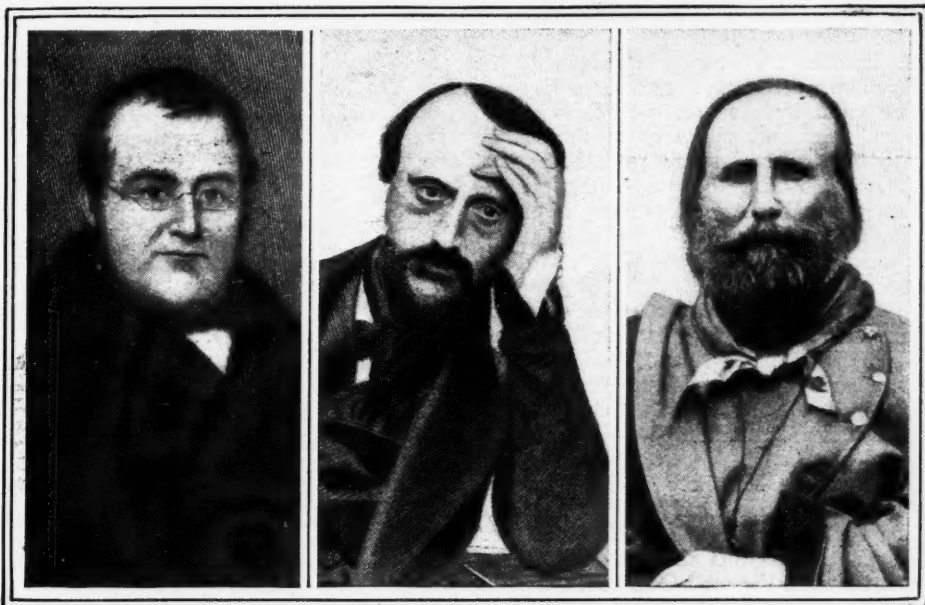
Beaten in Tripoli and vanquished in Cyrenaica, Italy is also defeated in diplomacy. The recent speeches of Count Berchtold at Vienna, and Lords Grey and Morley in England are as precious victories as those gained by our valiant soldiers and countrymen on the fields of honor in Africa.

In a long editorial discussion of Russian "encouragement" to the revolutionary bands in Macedonia and the general Muscovite policies in the Balkans, the *Tanine* (The Echo), perhaps the most influential of the Young Turk journals, says:

If Russia is invited by Bulgaria to help her in the Balkans, it is not for peace and tranquillity, but to help Bulgaria annex Macedonia. . . . The Ottoman government has done more than it promised in 1878, not only in Macedonia but all over the Empire. It has guaranteed the political rights of all Ottomans without any distinction of race or creed, and now it has a Parliament. If the situation in Macedonia is not what it should be, this is due to the foreign friends of that country. Peace will come to Macedonia only when these foreign friends let it alone.

The journals of Constantinople permit themselves to make merry over the Italian exploits in the *Ægean*. Thus *Jeune Turc* says:

The "Giolitti-annexation-it-is-to-laugh" cabinet is really to be pitied. It started on a "military walk" intending to glorify the arms of Victor Emmanuel. . . . After eight months of "walking" it conceived the brilliant idea of taking Zouara and thus blocking the caravan route between Tunis and Tripolitania. Unable to take this port by sea, its soldiers failed to take it by land. Poor Signor Giolitti! In the same manner as they "took" Zouara, they "forced" the Dardanelles. Now the "Consulta" has lost its head and thinks it can take Zouara or annex Tripolitania simply by changing the map. . . . Italy is trying to transform a colonial kidnapping into a European war. She wants European diplomacy to help her "make good" in this kidnapping. But if there be any way in which a colonial seizure of this kind is justified, it is that the kidnapper shall do the job himself without help and with the least trouble to neutrals. Never will the public opinion of the civilized world agree that Europe should aid Italy in this matter. . . . If Italy is able to actually take Tripoli, let her do it . . . but the occupation of Rhodes and the other naval actions will never compel Turkey to subscribe to the Tripolitan annexation act.



CAVOUR, THE STATESMAN

MAZZINI, THE AGITATOR

GARIBALDI, THE SOLDIER

THE MOLDERS AND WELDERS OF ITALIAN UNITY

MAZZINI, CRISPI, AND ITALY AS A WORLD POWER

THE most picturesque and dramatic achievement in Europe during the last half of the nineteenth century was undoubtedly the Risorgimento, the struggle of the Italian people to win liberty, independence and unity. This great work was accomplished chiefly by the three men whose names are supreme in the Italian history of their generation,—Cavour, the statesman, Mazzini, the philosopher-agitator, and Garibaldi, the soldier. To these should be added the name of Francesco Crispi, who worked with these great ones and survived until a later day to help direct the foreign policies of the united Italian people.

It has been said that "men fight to lose the battle and the thing they fought for comes about in spite of their defeat, and, when it comes, it turns out to be not what they meant." If ever this could be truly said of any patriot statesman it can be said of Giuseppe Mazzini. He dreamed of an Italy free as well as united. He saw his country free, but without unity. Furthermore, although he died defeated, Italy did become united and free, only, however, as a monarchy, which, to him,

was detestable. Some of the chroniclers of the movement for Italy's freedom insist that his part in that story was a minor one. They claim that the glory of the final victory belongs rather to the brain of Cavour and the sword of Garibaldi. There is justification, however, for regarding Mazzini as the pioneer. It was his achievement "to develop and perfect and arm conscience," without which Cavour and Garibaldi would not have found the Italian people ready.

In this REVIEW for December last we had something to say about William Roscoe Thayer's fascinating two-volume study of "The Life and Times of Cavour." The appearance of the letters and recollections of Mazzini,¹ by Mrs. Hamilton King, casts a fine illumination upon the entire period so ably treated by Mr. Thayer. At the same time the publication of the two volumes (with the promise of the early appearance of a third) of the memoirs of Crispi² completes

¹ Letters and Recollection of Mazzini. By Mrs. Hamilton King. Longmans, Green & Co. 140 pp., por. \$1.60.

² The Memoirs of Francesco Crispi. 2 vols. Translated by Mary Pritchard-Agnetti from Documents Collected and Edited by Thomas Palamenghi-Crispi. George H. Doran & Co. 979 pp., ill. \$6.

the documentary history of the entire life of modern united Italy. This history is made more vivid by the personal achievements, hopes, fears and sufferings of the Italian statesman, who, beginning with the days of the Risorgimento, took a leading part in shaping his country's destinies until the inauguration of her African expansion policy. In the working out of this policy, so disastrously checked for the moment at Adowa in 1896, Signor Crispi was always the dominant figure. It was he who dreamed of a new Italian empire on the foundations of ancient Rome, and the Italian ships and soldiers now fighting the Arabs in Tripoli are but carrying out part of the grandiose dream of Francesco Crispi.

It is with the Mazzini of his later years, of 1864 to his death in 1872, that Mrs. Hamilton King has to do in her collection of letters. She was a generous and romantic girl of eighteen when she read Gladstone's translations of Farini's "History of the Roman State." This fired her zeal for Italian liberty. At that time, 1849, in the progress of events in Rome the name of Mazzini was very prominent. To her Mazzini at once became not only "an image of the ideal patriot, hero and saint, but the master mind of the century and the master and responsive note of her own mind." She resolved to dedicate herself to the aims and purposes of the Italian liberators. She wrote Mazzini an idealistic letter full of impersonally romantic and philosophic sentiments. "Had my age permitted me," she wrote, "I would have been among those who served in the campaign of 1860. I have nursed the sick and dying. Let me offer relief and consolation to the holy Italian war. . . . In the crusade of our day surely maidens and children are not out of place." Mazzini wrote in reply, saying, "I accept and welcome your enthusiasm as one of God's blessings." The correspondence continued. A visit to Mazzini in his dim London lodgings was arranged, and later, after her marriage, Mazzini stayed with the Kings in their country home in England.

In addition to the letters of Mazzini given in these pages, Mrs. King includes several of her own, besides some of those written by other friends of the patriot. It seems almost sacrilegious, after fifty years, she comments in the volume, "to expose these letters warm from living hearts to the mockery of a skeptical and materialistic world, yet in those days the world was equally skeptical and materialistic, and it was even harder and pervaded by a

vice which has now disappeared—hypocrisy. But, after all, truth is best."

The record of Mrs. King's first visit to Mazzini during his London exile is well worth quoting.

It was on January 30, 1864; Mazzini lived then, and during all the years I knew him, in a house called 18 Fulham Road. It was one of a row of small, three-storied houses, standing a little way back from the road, with, in front, a little iron gate and a small grass plot. . . . I do not remember if we had previously announced our visit; but we found him at home. He was in the small front sitting-room, so filled with books and papers there was hardly room to move, and with his little canaries and greenfinches fluttering about the room. He had been smoking, but had put away his cigar. At last we stood face to face. I had a photograph of him, but a small and poor one, and it was with an indescribable emotion that I saw before me the slender emaciated form, the noble face and brow, and the great dark, liquid velvet eyes, with their wonderful fire and depth, and heard the gentle, caressing voice. He was dressed, as always, in the deep mourning, the black velvet waistcoat buttoned up to the throat, which was his distinctive costume. I have no recollection of what was said. I could only utter a few words of devotion and thankfulness: and though Mazzini himself was a fluent and eager talker, I do not remember that he said much, nor anything that he said. It was my husband who principally sustained the conversation. . . . As for me, I felt disappointed, not in Mazzini, but in myself. He never took his large wonderful eyes from my face; and in them there was the expression of the deepest melancholy.

The conception of Mazzini, once quite widely accepted, as "a pestiferous conspirator, fanatical and cruel," has long since been thrown aside. Yet it is good to hear Mrs. King's first-hand testimony to the gentleness and generosity of his nature. He was, she tells us, the most domestic of men, and his life was characterized by simplicity, innocence, gayety and charm of nature. The keynote of his nature was his "utter generosity, self-denial and self-sacrifice." Everything that it was possible to give away he gave. "Besides his private charities, he financed the whole Republican movement in Italy, and supplied the funds for every private and public expedition . . . although this was only possible through the contributions of his friends and followers."

He was the gentlest of human creatures, and the kindest. The little birds that flew about his room, nestled on his shoulder, and fed from his hand, were one proof of this, shut out as he was from the comfort of human relations. His love and tenderness to children were also touching and wonderful. He could be bitterly indignant against wrong, oppression, and cruelty; but his indignation itself, though fiery, had never anything violent or cruel. He could not be other than gentle in every action, word, and tone. In all his gentleness there was a

deep note of melancholy; and this was not merely for the sorrows of his country and of humanity, and for his own deceptions and disappointments; for those who knew him, there might be perceived a perpetual mourning for those lives which had been sacrificed in following him, and whose martyrdom was a perpetual weight upon his heart.

In personal appearance he was of middle height, slender and of noble carriage. His eyes were the most remarkable feature of his face. They were extremely large, "luminous, of a velvet darkness, and full of fire and passion. In him extraordinary purity was transcendent. . . . A sort of living flame surrounded him, which could not help striking every one in his presence. I have never met any man or woman who so embodied the idea of perfect purity."

Mazzini, Mrs. King admits, had not the gift of prophecy. Some of his predictions have been falsified by history, but "Mazzini the man, the saint, the leader, the hero, the martyr, must ever remain one of the most splendid, noble and pathetic figures in the story of mankind."

Crispi as Seen Through his Letters

One of the most ardent followers of Mazzini and Garibaldi during the war for Italian unity was the young Sicilian, Francesco Crispi. He championed the cause of "Italia Unita," and fought against French interference. He was a leading spirit among those who brought about Italian occupation of Rome, a most prominent figure in the formulation and direction of Italian foreign policy up to the time of his death, and a prime mover in the entrance of Italy into the Triple Alliance, as well as one of the originators of the idea of an Italian Tripoli.

Authoritative documents concerning the war for Italian unity are scarce. The letters of Crispi, written at the time, are illuminating. The editor of the two-volume collection of Crispi's memoirs, Tommaso Palamenghi-Crispi, in his introductory note avers: "a book from nearly every one of whose pages Francesco Crispi speaks has no need of a preface by another." It is indeed characteristic of this collection of letters that the personality of the writer shines out unmistakably. The two portly volumes are full of descriptions of and references to Garibaldi, Cavour and Mazzini, but all are saturated with the passionate, devoted personality of Crispi himself. Traveling through Europe as Italy's secret agent in European political affairs, during most of his career, he kept his own name comparatively unknown, but it is

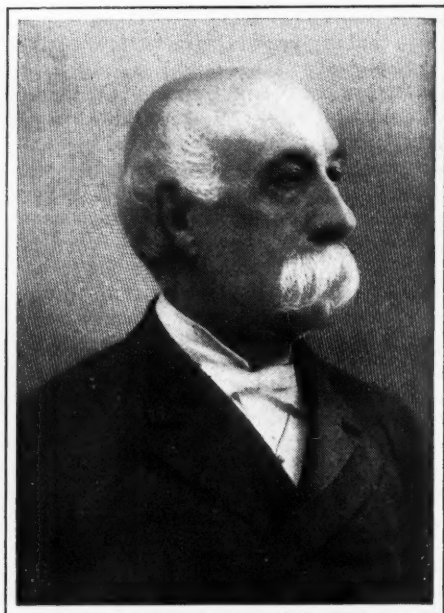
a significant record of all that he saw and heard that is given in this collection of letters.

Crispi's absorbing ambition was Italy's interests in the Mediterranean. On this subject, says his editor, he entertained "ambitious, uncompromising and ardent opinions." He realized that England had cut off his country from Egypt, and that Tunis and Morocco were as inevitably French as was Algeria. He saw, however, "that not only might a skillful and firm policy prevent Italy's position on her own sea from becoming worse, but even lead to some compensation for the injury she had already suffered." In a letter addressed to the German Ambassador at Rome, and dated July 24, 1890, Crispi declared that failing in the attempt to prevent French occupation of Tunis, "measures must be adopted to insure Tripoli to us [the Italians] as the only possible guarantee against encroachments of the naval and military power of France." In a letter dated July 31, of the same year, from the Italian *chargé d'affaires* in London, it is stated that Lord Salisbury, then British Premier, admitted that "the interests of Europe demand this occupation [of Tripoli by Italy], that the Mediterranean might be prevented from becoming a French lake." The editor quotes in this connection also a statement made by M. Ferry, then French Foreign Minister, to the effect that if Italy wished to occupy Tripoli, he would offer no opposition. All of which is reproduced here to show that, more than two decades ago, Europe had accepted the Italian absorption of Tripoli.

Crispi had personal dealings with all the great men of Europe, and for his own record alone he jotted down his estimate and impressions of such world figures as Gambetta, Bismarck, Cavour, von Bülow, Gladstone and Disraeli. An absorbingly interesting and secret interview with Bismarck at Wildbad, on September 17, 1877, gave the Italian statesman a very clear idea of what the great German empire maker thought about almost all the international complications of the last thirty years of Italian history. In the light of what has actually happened since that conversation, Crispi's account is significant.

After greetings and exchange of views on the political situation generally, Crispi said:

We are informed that it was your wish to strengthen the bonds of friendship between our countries, and I am therefore come at my King's command to discuss several matters with you. . . . I am unaware whether it will be necessary to readjust the treaty of commerce which was signed in 1865, but I am convinced that the opening of the



CRISPI AT EIGHTY

Gotthard Tunnel will greatly increase traffic between our countries, and it will therefore be well to make such provisions as shall remove all obstacles to trade between our peoples, and also facilitate the transaction of private business. With this end in view our government hopes that Your Highness will agree to a treaty by virtue of which Germans in Italy and Italians in Germany shall be placed upon a perfectly equal footing with the subjects of those countries, as far as civil rights are concerned.

In reply to a question as to whether Germany would sign a treaty of "eventual alliance" with Italy and would be willing to come to an understanding" as regards the solution of the Eastern question, the German Chancellor replied as follows:

I heartily welcome the proposal for a treaty which shall place Italians in Germany and Germans in Italy on the same footing with the subjects of those countries, and by virtue of which all shall enjoy perfect equality in the exercise of civil rights. I cannot, however, establish this without first consulting my colleagues. A treaty of this sort would suit me because it would be a public manifestation of our cordial relations with Italy.

As to German relations with France and Austria, Bismarck said:

Only by keeping peace can the republic continue to exist in France, and should she adopt another policy than that of peace she would be risking destruction. I hold that only a return to monarchy would make war possible. In France all dynasties are of necessity clerical, and because her clergy are

restless and powerful and her kings must be warriors in order to sway the masses, the natural consequence is that they are forced to attack their neighbors. Such conditions have long prevailed, and you will find an example of them as far back as the reign of Louis XIV. As regards Austria, the conditions are totally different. I shrink from even assuming that she might one day be hostile to us, and I frankly admit that I must refuse to consider such a possibility. . . . We desire that Austria and Russia should be on friendly terms, and we are doing our best to keep them so.

With regard to Austrian policy generally, particularly with regard to the Balkan question, Bismarck said:

Austria is wise. There could be but one cause for a breach in the friendship that unites Austria and Germany, and that would be a disagreement between the two governments concerning the Polish policy. There are practically two nations in Poland—the aristocracy and the peasants (*la noblesse et le paysan*)—two nations in whom temperament, views and habits all differ widely. The one is restless and factious, the other quiet, industrious and sober. Austria favors the aristocracy. If a Polish rebellion should break out and Austria should lend it her support we should be obliged to assert ourselves. We cannot permit the reconstruction of a Catholic kingdom so near at hand. It would be a northern France. We have one France to look to already, and a second would become the natural ally of the first, and we should find ourselves entrapped between two enemies. The resurrection of Poland would injure us in other ways as well; it could not come about without the loss of a part of our territory. We cannot possibly relinquish either Posen or Danzig, because the German Empire would remain exposed on the Russian frontier, and we should lose an outlet on the Baltic.

Continuing to discuss the general European situation, Bismarck said:

We have been accused of wishing to acquire Holland and Denmark. What should we do with these countries? We have a sufficiently large number of non-German subjects to make us shrink from adding to them. We are on friendly terms with Holland, and our relations with Denmark are satisfactory. As long as I remain in office I shall be with Italy, but although I am your friend I will not break with Austria.

Crispi asked Bismarck what was the latter's opinion on the question of disarmament. The Prince replied:

The principle of disarmament can never succeed in practice. There are no words in the dictionary that accurately define the limits of disarmament and armament. Military institutions differ in every State, and even when you have succeeded in placing the armies on a peaceful footing you will not be able to affirm that the conditions of offense and defense are equal with all the nations which have participated in disarmament. Let us leave this question to the Society of the Friends of Peace.

Altogether these two collections of letters and reminiscences are of unusual interest and significance.

POETRY, NEW AND OLD

"The singer who lived is always alive; we hearken and always hear."—JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY.

IN an obscure legend it is recorded of a race that "They had no poet and so they died." We have this month sufficient in the field of poesy to assure us that we shall never come to extinction through a dearth of poets. Mr. George Sylvester Viereck offers "The Candle and the Flame"; we have "The Lute of Life" by the late James Newton Matthews, "Sonnets and Ballads" by Guido Cavalcanti, the collected poems of William Sharp, "Womankind" by Wilfred Gibson, and the poems of Schiller, in translation by E. Arnold Foster.

"The Candle and the Flame" is accompanied by an explanatory pamphlet from Mr. Viereck's publishers, which gives in brief synopsis an account of the life and works of the author.

A Youthful
Genius

He was born in the city of Munich, in 1886. His father had been a member of the German Reichstag and his mother was a native of California. He attended the public schools of New York and was graduated in 1906 from the College of the City of New York. Now at the age of twenty-eight Mr. Viereck has a half-score of books of various kinds to his credit. His career has been that of a poetical comet, his fiery locks shearings from the aureoles of François Villon and Oscar Wilde. It is true that Mr. Viereck has genius; he has also astonishing talent and virility. At twenty-eight, he is a prodigy of precocious and brilliant accomplishment both in prose and verse; but he has a tendency to juggle with Mr. Viereck's personality. Let Mr. Viereck speak for himself, through his "Credo": "I strive to express every segment in the great circle of human life, whether purple or golden or sombre or bright." Again, in the preface to "The Candle and the Flame": "I am in poetry what Strauss is in music, Rodin in sculpture, and Stuck in painting—a cerebral impressionist. My artistic aim is to extend the borderland of poetry into the realm of music on the one side and into that of intellect on the other." Yet, for all this, he bids farewell to the Muse in this volume. Art for art's sake seems a jest, literature only a "sickly mirage of life." Now he proposes to test the actual dynamics of living, bestowing as a parting gift his stock of cerebral impressionism. The poems included in "The Candle and the Flame," are more forceful though not more poetic, than those of a previous collection—"Nineveh." Erotic imagery often symbolizes moral truths. There is little for the prude or the Puritan to fear in Mr. Viereck's eroticism. It is stingless; it explains itself and it is explained by him as follows:

Perhaps the passions of mankind
Are but the torches mystical
Lit by some spirit hand to find
The dwelling of the Master-Mind
That knows the secret of it all
In the great darkness and the wind.

¹ The Candle and the Flame. By George Sylvester Viereck. Moffatt, Yard & Co. 131 pp. \$1.20.

A wholesome doubt here and there shadows the assurance of Mr. Viereck's Muse. He writes: "I am sometimes seized with the fear of Baudelaire—the idol heedlessly dragged to the junk heap may be the true god after all." Still, beyond all cavil, he has written much that is freshly and uniquely beautiful. There are echoes of the music that tortured Keats' soul from his body and now and again some dust from the grave of Heinrich Heine is blown across our faces. He is just to woman, but he does not think the austerities of life are in her keeping. In a land untraversed by ordinary mortals, he has met vampire souls and singing sirens and knelt at the altars of strange gods and walked up the highways and down the byways searching out his exotic songs. One conclusion seems apparent after a survey of all that Mr. Viereck has done and that is, that his prose is better art than his poetry—like Stevenson's prose, more poetical at times than his verse. While Mr. Viereck's work has all been brilliant, it has been odd and uneven. We hardly know what to expect from him.

James Newton Matthews as a poet belonged to the James Whitcomb Riley School. As a man he belonged with the good and the great. Down in

"Egypt," Southern Illinois, in the little town of Mason, he lived and

A Mid-Western
Singer worked and died and left behind him his poems and unfailing remembrance of his deeds and his virtues. Walter Hurt has written a foreword of appreciation for this volume² together with some analysis of Dr. Matthews' poetical gift. The poems are distinctively American; they can hardly be compared for purposes of criticism with the classics, for they possess a quality that in all times and in all lands has defied criticism—a simple lovingness, it might be called for want of a better word. If you remember some old, sweet verses that your mother used to read when the sun was setting over the hills, out of a Repository of Song that had faded covers and had always belonged to the family, you know the kind of verse Dr. Matthews wrote. Joel Chandler Harris said of him: "He was native to the soil, yet his spirit was as universal as art's expression." His muse dwelt in his heart; his verse was the overflow of great tenderness of spirit. Many of his poems are simple in form and childlike in expression, yet to sense his actual mastery over the technique of poesy one has but to turn to his sonnets or the tribute to Edgar Allan Poe. The verse and the sonnet quoted below are excellent examples of Dr. Matthews' work.

WHEN I SHALL MEET MY YOUTH AGAIN

Sometime—I know not how or when—
This weary road I journey on
Will lead through lands that I have known,
And I shall meet my youth again,—
Thro some old wood my childhood knew
The road at length will bring to view
A cottage in a lonely glen,
Where I shall meet my youth again.

² The Lute of Life. By James Newton Matthews. Horton & Co. 348 pp. \$1.50.

Where I shall greet beside the gate
 A boy whose unforgotten face
 Will glad me with its tender grace
 Of artless life and love elate;—
 My soul will sparkle in his gaze
 The while his sunburnt hand I raise
 Against my lips in silence then,
 When I shall meet my youth again.

And yet the lad of whom I dream
 May know me not for I shall be
 To him a deep'ning mystery
 Of things that are and things that seem;
 From these old scars of time and toil
 His heart, albeit may recoil,
 As children's often do from men,
 When I shall meet my youth again.

But he shall know me at the last,
 And creep into my arms and weep,
 As I shall lull his lids to sleep
 With stories of the changed past;
 And ere the morning breaks upon
 Us twain, our souls shall be as one,
 And time shall breathe a soft "amen,"
 When I shall meet my youth again.

A REFLECTION

To-day is ours, to-morrow God's; and this
 Is all of life we know. Helpless we stand
 Beside the straits of Time; on either hand
 An ocean infinite as the abyss
 Between a past day and a day that is.
 Beneath our feet the ever sliding sand
 Down-sweeps us struggling to the star-less
 strand
 Where billows rock and blinding sea-winds hiss.

Why vex our souls with vain similitudes
 Of life which ere we can discern it, slips
 From out the harbor, like a dream of ships,
 Half-freighted to the alien solitudes
 The home of silence where the long night broods,
 And Time sinks breathless, 'neath the vast
 eclipse?

It is to be hoped that many of our readers are
 familiar with the poetical works of William Sharp,
 disguised in his lifetime as "Fiona Macleod." The

"Fiona Macleod" series of his writings, covering a period of twelve years

of the author's life, have been gathered together and published heretofore. Mrs. William Sharp has prepared this companion series of the "Writings of William Sharp," signed with his own name and representing, with a few exceptions, the work that extended over the period of thirty years prior to the "Fiona Macleod" period. This series will comprise five volumes of poems, fiction, biography, essays and also some of the ephemeral work which sprang into existence from the demands of daily life. The first volume of this series is the collection of poems¹ which are culled from five volumes published in his own name. Poetically they bear a distinct resemblance to the work of Matthew Arnold. There is the same loftiness of spirit, the same serene vision and high striving for spiritual worthiness. The Romantic Ballads which form an interesting portion of this volume, were written in the hope of the renaissance of the Romantic Spirit in literature; they bring the premonitions of the su-

pernatural world into their true relation with the activities and realities of exterior life. Sharp's vision turned inward upon his own soul with all the burning desire for self-knowledge that drove the pen of William Blake. Beside his Sonnet Sequence included in this volume, the sonnets of Rossetti seem a bit tawdry and born of a lesser inspiration. Of the shorter poems none is more sweet with Nature's "anodyne" than "The Veil of Silence":

Three veils of Silence, Summer draws apace.
 The noontide Peace that broods on hill and dale,
 That passes o'er the sea and leaves no trace,
 That sleeps in the moveless clouds' moveless trail.

The wave of color deepening the day,
 The yellow grown to purple on the leas,
 Blue within there beyond the dusky ways;
 A green-gloom dusk within the grass-green trees.

The third veil no man sees. She weaves it where
 Beneath the fret and fume tired hearts aspire
 And long for some divine, impossible air.
 Out of the Man's heart, she weaves this veil of
 Rest—

Sweet anodyne for all the feverish quest
 And ache of inarticulate Desire."

Mr. E. Arnold-Forster modestly offers a translation of the poems of Schiller as "a tolerably faithful rendering of the original poems," with attention

bestowed upon the preservation of the original meters.² The translator of Schiller encounters difficulties not fully grasped by the average reader—the recalci-trancy of the German idiom to flow easily into musical English and the added burden of holding together as it were, the identical vibration of poetic impulse. The work in this volume is scholarly and artistic though somewhat lacking in poetic fire. For instance the lines of the popular poem, "The Diver," as given in a previous translation run, "Oh where is the knight or the squire so bold, As to dive to the howling Charybdis below?" In Mr. Arnold-Forster's version they are: "Is there a knight or a squire who dare Dive into yonder abyss?" The latter is more faithful to the German text, but a certain freedom in the translation of verse has always been considered a pardonable liberty.

For the student of poetry, Ezra Pound gives us in translation the "noble line" of Guido of the Cavalcanti,³ who was Dante's contemporary and of

whom we hear in the "Decameron" One of Dante's Contemporaries that "He was of the best logicians in the world, a very fine natural philosopher," and from Filippo Villani who set him above Petrarch, that he was "most skilled in the liberal arts—worthy of laud and honor for his joy in the study of rhetoric, he brought over the fineness of this art into the rhyming compositions of the common tongue. For canzoni in vulgar tongue and in the advancement of this art he held second place to Dante, nor hath Petrarch taken it from him." Rossetti's translations are often more fortunate than Mr. Pound's rendering of Cavalcanti's text, but they are not so exact nor so expressive of the shadings of meaning intended by the poet. A

¹ The Poems of Schiller. E. P. Arnold-Forster. Henry Holt & Co. \$1.60.

² Poems. By William Sharp. Duffield & Co. 323 pp. \$1.50.

³ The Sonnets and Ballads of Guido Cavalcanti. Translated by Ezra Pound. Small, Maynard & Co. 118 pp. \$2.

great spiritual insight characterizes these neglected canzonis. As a psychologist of the emotions of the soul he is most powerful in his analysis of the perceptions of love and beauty, that perception of the

nobler sort—"Love that is born of loving like delight." The preface to this volume written by Mr. Pound is of exceptional value to the proper interpretation of the text.

NEW BOOKS ABOUT THE FAR EAST

BOOKS published on Japan nowadays are not few. To be counted as the most comprehensive of them all and as scholarly as any—if the soul

of scholarship is accuracy—is a distinction. Mr. Robert P. Porter's work¹ carries that honor with ease. It is not a small work; it has almost 800 generous pages. It is concise, nevertheless; it has to be, for after all, 800 pages even if generous in size, do not harbor many idle inches of space when they try to cover almost all the leading activities of a race of people numbering nearly seventy millions, the things which go with them and the country in which they live. A glance at the table of contents will be enough to convince any reader of the ambition of the work. It gives from an outline history of Japan to a careful and meaty presentation of finance, army, navy and education. In it the reader can find an excellent review of the literary movements and activities among the writers of the New Nippon; here he can have a bird's-eye survey of what the dramatic world of Japan is like as well as the latter-day tendencies in art. Chapters are devoted to Chosen (Korea) Karafuto (Japanese Saghalien) Taiwan (Formosa) and that section of southern Manchuria known as the Kwantung Peninsula—in short every section of the Far East with which Japan is having her version of White Man's burden.

Like so many other scholarly works, there is nothing startlingly original, either in the subject-matter or in the manner of treatment. One thing stands out clearly in every page. The author has not spared pains in gathering his material. "The facts and figures," he tells us, "have been obtained almost exclusively from official sources." He has gathered them in his two trips to Japan—in 1896 and in 1910. It is a great pity that the author does not have the advantage of reading the Japanese literature himself. For with his conscience and industry (both of which are truly amazing) he would have put Japan under a debt as heavy as she owes to Chamberlain, Satow, Aston and Hearn. It is this lack of first hand intimacy with the native documents which makes his historical survey at times somewhat school text-bookish.

Perhaps the most significant thing about Mr. Kawakami's book² is that it affords the English speaking peoples in particular and the Occident in general, an opportunity of hearing direct from a native of Japan what the Japanese themselves are doing and thinking about their own affairs. The work before us is not a department store of the lettered sins, picturesque and otherwise,—mostly otherwise,—which have been and are being perpe-

trated upon the devoted heads of patient Occidental readers by so many immodest young men from the most modest country in the world. Mr. Kawakami commands a clear, straightforward prose style. His English is impeccable. In the present work, he devotes himself entirely to American-Japanese relations; to the three chief and most troublesome themes arising therefrom: the Manchurian Question, the Korean Question and that of Immigration. By training Mr. Kawakami is a journalist. He still contributes occasionally to the *Yorozu Choho* of Tokyo. He has a faculty specially trained for observation. And, in dealing with the above-mentioned questions, he has had an exceptional opportunity in gathering data at first hand. It is a delicate job he has undertaken. The restraint and sanity with which he discusses the questions (which seem for some reasons to be so ready to catch fire at the least possible provocation, and even without a ghost of an excuse) is really admirable.

His book is a splendid tract on international peace. What prevents peace societies from purchasing an entire edition of this book and scattering them from the lakes to the gulf and from the Atlantic to the Pacific—especially along the Pacific seaboard of the United States,—it is difficult to see.

"That, despite of care exercised, the book contains some errors, is doubtless true," says Mr. Clarence Poe about his own book,³ with a modesty and candor utterly unnatural for a man who has done the Orient in how few hasty months, he himself best knows. But, like the author of "The Changing Chinese" who did a same sort of thing, Mr. Poe went over the seas with a pair of trained eyes. That is the reason why there is something more than the mere impressions of a globe-trotter in the present volume. Mr. Poe is a specialist in his knowledge and in his power of analytical observation in the industrial life of a race. In Japan where he had a kindly opportunity to bring his specialized spectacles to bear, this fact comes out strikingly. Chapters on "Welfare Work in Japanese Factories," "Does Japanese Competition Menace the White Man's Trade," and "Asia's Greatest Lesson for America" are able and illuminating. This must be born always in mind however; that the figures given in different statistical tables of wages, etc., do not carry correct meaning to the American readers' mind. When a carpenter in Japan gets 80 *sen* a day (40 cents in American money) it must not be supposed that the purchasing power of 80 *sen* in Japan is equal to that of 40 cents in America. As far as the life essentials are concerned, a Japanese carpenter, even in Tokyo, can manage with his 80 *sen*, to

¹1. Full Recognition of Japan. By Robert P. Porter. Oxford: Henry Frowde. 789 pp., maps. \$4.

²2. American-Japanese Relations. By Kiyoshi K. Kawakami. Fleming H. Revell Co. 370 pp. \$2.

³3. Where Half the World is Waking Up. By Clarence Poe. Doubleday, Page & Co. 276 pp. por. \$1.25.

satisfy his needs when his American comrade would find it harder to do the same thing in New York on one dollar.

What the author has to say about the silly talk, so fashionable in America and Europe, on the cheap labor of the Orient and its advantage in industrial enterprises, is eminently true. But the moment he walks in the wake of the time-honored globe-trotter and tries to make a plausible case of the threadbare joke of the up-side-downness and the back-side-frontness of things Oriental, he proves with dreadful facility that he, too, is nothing more than—a mere globe-trotting gentleman. "I learned that with them the subject of a sentence comes last (if at all), as for example, 'By a rough road yesterday came John,' instead of 'John came by a rough road yesterday.'" But the Japanese do not say it that way. He will say usually, "John, yesterday, by a rough road came." The author says that "Japan is a land 'where the flowers have no odor and the birds no song.'" That is because he has never heard the nightingale in Japan and most likely did not happen to be in the country when one plum tree in flower perfumes an entire village. Even Mr. Poe cannot very well ask the whole four seasons to go their natural round within two, three, or even five or six months. He adds that cherry flowers bear no fruits. Oh, yes, they do. But the people do not eat them. Birds do. "Girls dance with their hands, not with their feet," he declares. As a matter of fact they dance with both in Japan. When he says that "a man's birthday is not celebrated, but the anniversary of his death is," it makes the natives of Japan think that the American must burn a city to celebrate their birthdays. Unless they do something like that, the Americans can not claim that they make more fuss than we do over birthday celebrations. The author had actually to drag out the alleged "Port Arthur massacre" which has been proven a baseless fabrication for these fifteen years past, to show that we are a sad contradiction. The safer rule for a tourist like the author is to take it for granted that man is a man even in Japan and the oft-quoted speech of Shylock paints a truth wider than the Jew.

In his book of scarcely three hundred pages, Mr. Poe covers, Japan, Korea, Manchuria, China, Philippines, Straits Settlements and Burma, India and their industrial, social, religious, political activities—a noteworthy feat and that is putting it very mildly indeed.

Mr. J. Johnson Abraham's book² is a shock, altogether delightful—a double shock. That a book of travel on the Far East is pleasant reading is no vulgar shock. Greater than that, however, is the fact that so excellent an artist of the pen, should be buried in a mere surgeon. His book is the story—not a record—of a vagabond trip o'er the far Orient seas in a ship called—by the author at any rate,—*Clytemnestra*. We have the pleasure of seeing, not through witless eyes such as are

yours and mine, but through the sparkling and twinkling pair that is in the surgeon-author's head, the scenery—and more than scenery, the life of Pinang, Singapore, Nagasaki, Kobe, Yokohama, Tokyo and the South Pacific island ports. The humor of the book is compelling. There is art in his portrayal and positive genius in his observation—not always true according to heartless mathematics and soulless science. But what matters that? The author actually saw Hamlets in Japanese coolies at a seaport! It would be a fine idea if every one of the passenger ships doing business with the Eastern ports should each buy at least a dozen copies of this book for the delectation of its patrons.

Professor Reinsch's book³ is a crane among crows when placed in the company of the above-mentioned publications or their likes. It is utterly different; it aspires to something higher; it is indifferent to mere skin of things. It is an erudite and searching study into things and thoughts profound—profound everywhere but especially so in the Orient. The author is especially happy in his point of observation. He does not seem to have carried on his study on a trip to the Orient. There is a charming illusion that for a foreign student to get a clear view of the real life of the Orient, he must go there and stand in the market places and temples of Japan and China and India. But of course, this is not the only illusion in the world. A Japanese proverb says that it is harder to see things at the very foot of a lighthouse—there a shadow always dwells. Non-essential trifles, usually picturesque, cloud and fog the observing eye; and sometimes they do worse than even that: they kidnap the attention of the foreign student altogether and away with it. The author is fortunate: he has had the rare opportunity of coming in contact with a number of Oriental brains which supplied him with materials he needed in a half predigested form,—certainly in a refined form. The materials thus furnished him are naturally idealized somewhat, but in passing judgment on the soul life of the East, one arrives at a much more correct conclusion in dealing with just such idealized material than with the crude ore of which even an indefatigable traveler sees only an infinitesimal fraction.

This book of Professor Reinsch is easily the ablest available digest of the thought life of the Orient and it marks a great advance on such works as that of Percival Lowell and the Bushido of Nitobe.

How authoritative is the latest book on "The Civilization of China," can be read on its very title page. The author is H. A. Giles. It is a very small book of 250 pages and it covers a large field. It gives the summary of the history of China; her laws and governmental system, religion, social life, literature, education, and the conditions of the foreigners who are within her borders and their relations to her people. It is an excellent primer and introduction to the study of China.

²The Surgeon's Log. By J. J. Abraham. E. P. Dutton & Co. 388 pp., ill. \$2.50.

³Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East. By Paul S. Reinsch. Houghton Mifflin Co. 396 pp. \$2.

⁴The Civilization of China. By H. A. Giles. Henry Holt & Co. 256 pp. 75 cents.

The Inner Life
of the Orient

A Handbook
on China

LIVE TOPICS WITHIN BOOK COVERS

"SOLUTION" is a big word when used in relation to any economic question, and when we find this word in the sub-title of a work dealing with the trust problem in the United States

Mastering "Big Business"

our curiosity is at once aroused. President Van Hise, of the University of Wisconsin, in a volume just issued from the press,¹ suggests concentration and control as the two last words in the discussion of the trusts. As he frankly admits in his preface, his book is one of opportunism. He wishes to show how to gain the economic advantage of industrial concentration in this country, and at the same time how to guard the interests of the public. He rightly says that this is the most pressing problem now before the people and before Congress and State legislatures. Furthermore, no other problem is likely to have so much discussion in the political campaign of the present year. In preparing this volume President Van Hise has availed himself not only of the standard authorities on the trust problem, but of the special reports on manufactures in 1905 by the Census Office, reports of the Commissioner of Corporations upon Standard Oil, Tobacco, Steel, Beef, Lumber, and water powers, and hearings and reports before the various committees of the Sixty-Second Congress. Even cursory readers of the newspapers know that in these recent hearings an immense amount of important data has been disclosed. President Van Hise does not withhold his own conclusions from the facts presented, but even if the reader is unable to follow these in all respects, he cannot fail to find the author's summary of facts bearing on "Big Business" very helpful. The book presents the more important factors of the problem in a way that should lead to logical thinking, and the author is fully justified in his hope that he may in this way assist in obtaining a consensus of opinion which will, in the end, result in sound remedial legislation.

The President's cabinet in the United States is an institution for which only indirect provision was made by the national Constitution, and which

The Cabinet in Our History

has no precise analogy in any other country. Forgetting that the cabinet as it exists to-day is the product of a gradual evolution, and that in the early years of the Republic neither the President himself, nor Congress was fully assured as to the powers that this extra-constitutional body would in time come to possess, we sometimes wonder why the term "cabinet" was ever applied to the small group of advisors who surrounded the chief magistrate and were responsible to him alone. But the exact place of the President's cabinet in our scheme of government was established only by experiment, and in the beginning there was a greater likeness to the English Cabinet Council than there is to-day. To trace the origin of the cabinet from Washington's administration to Taft's, as well as to describe its structure, has been the task of Mr. Henry Barrett Learned in a valuable monograph recently issued from the Yale University Press.² The re-

search necessary to the fulfillment of this task must have been great, and even after laborious consultation of official records and other documentary materials the author is still unable to complete the story at every point. He has, however, disclosed the crucial facts regarding the history and formation of the cabinet as a distinct governmental institution, and in its field his book is an indispensable authority. He promises a second series of studies which will be concerned with the whole subject of cabinet practices and personnel, and will consider such matters as cabinet appointments and resignations, qualifications of cabinet officers, the influence of the cabinet on executive policy and on legislation, and the history of the cabinet meetings.

A lawyer's analysis of the popular distrust of the courts, which has recently been manifested in various parts of our land, is to be found in Gilbert E. Roe's little volume entitled "Our

Distrust of the Courts

Judicial Oligarchy."³ This work is not an attack on individual characters of judges, but is rather an inquiry into the nature of the decisions themselves, pointing out the dangers to our institutions to be found in the present attitude of the courts, and discussing certain proposed remedies for these abuses. He reviews the arguments for and against the recall of judges and declares that if the courts will not interpret statutes according to the intention of the law-making branch of the government, without reference to their own economic or social theories, and will not recognize the right of the people, within constitutional limits, to make such laws as they please, a reconstruction of the courts is inevitable, and that the recall and also the popular election of all judges for short terms seems likely to be adopted in an effort to force the courts back into their original constitutional position.

In his new study of "Socialism As It Is,"⁴ William English Walling attempts, he tells us, "a survey of the world-wide revolutionary movement."

Modern Socialism

He shows, in a temperate, comprehensive way, that socialism is a living, growing and ever changing force. His discussion of the relation of the socialist movement to the progressive movement on the one hand, and to syndicalism on the other, is stimulating and helpful. He does not idealize; he admits that the movement has made serious mistakes, many on its own confession, and that it still fails to find an answer to some vital and pressing problems. These weaknesses, however, he regards, properly, as inevitably part of the process of evolution. It is significant of the new spirit of the movement he describes that Mr. Walling should close his study with the admission that "Socialists expect their children to be far wiser and more fortunate than themselves, and do not intend to attempt to decide anything for them that can well be left undecided. They intend only that these children shall have the freedom and power necessary to direct society as they think best."

¹Concentration and Control. By Charles R. Van Hise. Macmillan. 288 pp. \$2.

²The President's Cabinet. By Henry Barrett Learned. New Haven: Yale University Press. 471 pp. \$2.50.

³Our Judicial Oligarchy. By Gilbert E. Roe. B. W. Huebsch. 239 pp. \$1.

⁴Socialism As It Is. By William English Walling. Macmillan. 452 pp. \$2.

Believing that "the only socialism of interest to practical persons is the socialism of the organized socialist movement," Mr. Walling studies socialism not through its program or its pronouncements, but through its acts.

Mr. H. G. Wells recently remarked that "the old and largely fallacious antagonism of socialist and individualist is dissolving out of contemporary thought." With this idea before him, the editor, who is anonymous, of the collection of essays on "Socialism and the Great State"¹ has constructed opinions by Mr. Wells, Frances Evelyn Warwick, L. G. Chiozza Money, E. Ray Lankester, Cicely Hamilton, Roger Fry, Herbert Trench and others. These essays, lacking nothing except the religious touch, "are hoped to present a fairly complete picture of modern constructive social ideals."

Mr. John Spargo, whose writings on socialism always have an earnestness and dignity which adds much to the cogency of their reasoning, has gathered together a series of lectures delivered by him before the Rand School of Social Science in New York, and published them in a book entitled "Applied Socialism."² The progress of the socialistic movement since the time of Karl Marx has been so great and so rapid that a writer of commanding position like Mr. Spargo is justified in attempting to answer certain definite questions always put by those interested in social reform as to the proposed application of socialism,—if its advocates should triumph. Mr. Spargo attempts to give clear and authentic answers chiefly to the following questions: Will the Socialist state confiscate private property? Does it intend to destroy the family—the home? How will labor be compensated? If by wages what will be the adjustment under Socialism? Will there be an unemployment problem? Can genius thrive, and what will be the incentive to effort? It will be freely admitted by those who read his book that his replies to these questions have been at least intelligible and in a measure convincing.

In his other recently issued volume "Elements of Socialism,"³ Mr. Spargo has given us a text book arranged typographically in such a way that it is of very easy reference. The entire development and progress of the Socialist movement is set forth in analytical, almost tabular form. There are summaries and questions at the end of each chapter with bibliographical references. It is Mr. Spargo's final conclusion that, "so far from admitting that Socialism depends upon change in human nature, the Socialist contends that Socialism must come unless the fundamental human instincts and passions which we call human nature are changed."

A rather thorough and forcible discussion of the "biologic, domestic, industrial and social possibilities of American women" is presented for the perusal and profit of the modern student of sociology and the general reader in addition, under the title "Woman and Social Progress."⁴ It has been writ-

The New
Woman

¹ Socialism and the Great State. By H. G. Wells. Harpers. 379 pp. \$2.

² Applied Socialism. By John Spargo. B. W. Huebsch 333 pp. \$1.50.

³ Elements of Socialism. By John Spargo. Macmillan Company. 382 pp. \$1.50.

⁴ Woman and Social Progress. By Scott Nearing and Nellie M. S. Nearing. Macmillan. 285 pp. \$1.50.

ten by Dr. Scott Nearing, of the University of Pennsylvania, and Nellie M. S. Nearing, of Bryn Mawr. The book resays some of the things that have already been said on the subject of the new woman, whom these writers call the same as the American woman, and some comparatively new things are added. The American woman, we are assured in the introduction to this book, is the first woman in the history of modern civilization "who can 'sass back' and make her 'sass' good." There will be those who will question the utility or desirability of "sass"—even if it "makes good." However, there is a good deal of data and comment in this book that is useful and stimulating. It is a record of such efforts as have already been made by women, and an argument in favor of a larger participation in this sex-wide effort. The style is dignified and clear.

A study of "Penal Servitude" made by Dr. E. Stagg Whitin, General Secretary of the National Committee on Prison Labor and Assistant in Social Legislation in Columbia University, has been brought out by the prison labor committee.⁵ The material contained in the book is a summary of the findings of the committee during investigations beginning in November last. The status of the convict,—penal servitude,—says Dr. Whitin, is the last surviving vestige of the old slave system. It is justified, apparently, by common law, statute law, and implied recognition in the Constitution of the United States, and "supposedly necessary to the continued stability of our social structure." With these statements as a starting point, Dr. Whitin proceeds to an exhaustive study of the whole question of punishment and the right of the state to the labor of the prisoner. His last chapter on "The Trend of Reform" intimates that the lines of advance in the future will be in the direction of the educational rather than the economic function of penal institutions. The book will undoubtedly become a useful reference work.

British West
Indies

As the time approaches for the opening to the world's commerce by the Panama Canal, increased attention is being directed to the strategic position, from a commercial and geographical point of view, of the British West Indies, particularly the island of Jamaica. During the past year or so a number of excellent monographs have appeared on the history, resources and progress of these island possessions of Great Britain. One of the most thorough and comprehensive of these makes up the fourth volume of the "All Red" British Empire Series, the other volumes of which, already issued, have been noticed in these pages. "The British West Indies"⁶ is written by Algernon E. Aspinwall, Honorary Secretary of the West India Club, and author of "The Pocket Guide to the West Indies." The volume is illustrated, and provided with a good deal of statistical and other tabular matter and a map. We are promised volumes on other parts of the British Empire.

⁵ Penal Servitude. By E. Stagg Whitin. New York: National Committee on Prison Labor. 162 pp., ill.

⁶ The British West Indies. By Algernon E. Aspinwall. Little, Brown & Co. 435 pp., ill. \$3.

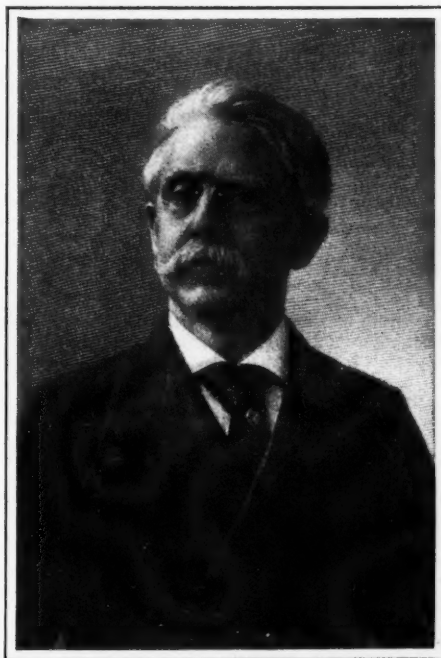
BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

ONE of the first men in this country to seize upon the monthly magazine as an instrument for arousing public opinion against great social and economic evils,—in other words, one of the first of the noble army of muck-rakers—was the late Henry D. Lloyd, the author of "Wealth Against Commonwealth." To Mr. Lloyd's article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for March, 1881, on the subject of the Standard Oil Company is dated the beginning of the crusade against unregulated monopoly that has never ceased from that day to this. Mr. Lloyd's career in journalism, as financial editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, and his disinterested services to various reform movements are clearly set forth in a two-volume biography by his sister, Miss Caro Lloyd.¹ A brilliant and graceful writer, a fearless champion of the weak and downtrodden, and a rarely beautiful personality were lost to the world when Mr. Lloyd died, in 1903.

A study of the career and times of Gracchus Babeuf, the agitator, editor, and thinker of the French revolutionary period, is given by Ernest Belfort Bax, under the title "The Last Episode of the French Revolution."² Babeuf and the movement he inaugurated must be of the deepest interest to the historical student and modern socialist. By birth he was, in a sense, says Mr. Bax, "a pioneer and a hero of the modern international socialist party." There is a frontispiece portrait of Babeuf.

The memoirs of that remarkable woman, Madam Marguerite Steinheil, with many illustrations, have been brought out in book form.³ This book is a real human document, recounting the strange romantic career of one of the most extraordinary women of modern times. Some two years ago all Paris was aghast when the brilliant and beautiful Madam Steinheil, a conspicuous figure in the society of the French capital, whose salon was eagerly thronged by men and women of distinction, was charged with the murder of her husband and her mother. All France became excited, and when the trial came to an end she was acquitted. The "affaire Steinheil," however, had strange social and political ramifications, and it has been a remarkable revelation of the place that feminine intrigue still plays in French politics. These memoirs are vividly written, and the book is illustrated copiously.

The complete story of the rise and fall of the secession movement on the Pacific coast has never been told, yet it was one of the most dramatic in American history. Now we have the recital, by Elijah R. Kennedy, woven around the biography of Major-General, then Colonel Edward D. Baker. It was mainly through his efforts and influence that



HENRY D. LLOYD

(First and ablest of so-called magazine "muck-rakers," whose biography has just appeared)

the plot to involve California, Oregon, and their hinterland with the South in 1861, was frustrated, and the Pacific coast States were saved to the Union. Mr. Kennedy entitles his story "The Contest for California in 1861."⁴ Colonel Baker was a brilliant and charming personality, and a soldier and statesman of the first rank. He was, in addition, a poet and an orator, an able member of the House of Representatives and the Senate, and the friend of members of the political and social leaders of the early sixties. It is a fascinating story that Mr. Kennedy writes, and his book, which is adequately illustrated, cannot fail to be an important contribution to the biographical and historical works of the season.

The number of works treating of the European foundations of American history, and of the relations between political and economic development in Europe and in this country, is increasing rapidly. Two small but comprehensive and useful monographs on this subject, of recent publication, are Miss Alice M. Atkinson's "European Beginnings of American History"⁵ and Professor Will S.

¹ Henry Demarest Lloyd 1847-1903. A Biography. 2 Vols. By Caro Lloyd. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 698 pp., ill. \$6.

² The Last Episode of the French Revolution. By Ernest Belfort Bax. Small, Maynard & Co. 271 pp., por. \$1.50.

³ My Memoirs. By Marguerite Steinheil. Sturgis & Walton Co. 484 pp., ill. \$3.

⁴ The Contest for California in 1861. By Elijah R. Kennedy. Houghton-Mifflin Co. 361 pp., ill. \$3.25.

⁵ European Beginnings of American History. Alice M. Atkinson. Ginn & Co. 398 pp., ill. \$1.

Monroe's "Europe and Its People."¹ Miss Atkinson begins her study with a chapter on our debt to England. Other chapters consider the influence of the continental countries upon our early development, and its custom, traditions, ideas and personalities of Europe that still show their mark on American history. The volume, which is illustrated, is designed for grammar schools, but in

itself makes attractive reading for adults. Professor Monroe's book aims to acquaint the child of the high school age with the really fundamental ideas of geography, with Europe as the home of the white race, and with the structure and industries which have grown from it. There are maps and general illustrations, which add to the usefulness of the text.

SOME WORKS OF REFERENCE

RATHER late in its appearance, but not less welcome on that account, is the "New International Year Book"² for 1911. This is the fifth volume of

An International Annual

the current series, and no essential change has been made in the plan or scope of the work. The editors pride themselves on keeping this year book uniform in its range and method and in not confining it to special fields or to a single country. Information that is scattered through many statistical, historical, biological, and political works is here drawn upon, digested and succinctly presented in a single volume. Some developments of the year 1911 were of unusual interest,—for example, the work of Congress under the new Democratic majority; the State elections held in November as indicating the possibilities of the Presidential campaign of the current year; the progress of the woman suffrage movement in the West; the arrest and conviction of the McNamara brothers; the important trust decisions of the Supreme Court. All these topics and many others are clearly presented in a form especially convenient for purposes of reference.

Not every one is interested in the technical aspects of copyright, but in these days no intelligent American can afford to be ignorant of the general history and present status of the subject. The American reading public was very late in waking up to the importance of the international copyright regulations, but now that we have come into such relations with other countries it is important that we should understand their full significance. Mr. Richard R. Bowker, editor of the *Publisher's Weekly*, who has followed copyright development for many years and has taken an active part in the preparation of the new code of 1909, has prepared a comprehensive volume summarizing the principles and practice of copyright, with special reference to the American code of 1909 and the British act of 1911.³ Practically all that is necessary for any author or publisher to know about the copyright situation throughout the world is summarized in Mr. Bowker's book. It has long been a matter of common observation that copyright law is especially confused, and in some instances, almost unintelligible.

¹ Europe and Its People. By Will S. Monroe and Anna Buckbee. Harpers. 120 pp., ill. 40 cents.

² The New International Year Book for the Year 1911. Edited by Frank Moore Colby. Dodd, Mead & Co. 808 pp., ill. \$5.

³ Copyright: Its History and Law. By Richard R. Bowker. Houghton, Mifflin Co. 709 pp. \$5.

Realizing this, Mr. Bowker has endeavored in the discussion of specific subjects to concentrate his comment, making subordinate references to cognate topics. By the use of appropriate side-heads he has added greatly to the ease and convenience of the reader in following out these comments.

The twelfth volume, which has recently appeared, marks the completion of the "New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge,"⁴ a

A Cyclopedia of Religion

work that was begun more than eight years ago, under the able editorship of Dr. Samuel M. Jackson, who was assisted on the first six volumes by Charles Colebrook Sherman, and on the remaining volumes by George William Gilmore, with a staff of seven department editors. No mistaken sense of official dignity has prevented the editors from acknowledging such errors as have been pointed out in the earlier volumes, and the purchasers of later editions of the encyclopedia may be assured that they will profit by this policy. In the field of Protestant religion this work holds the same relative rank that the well-known Catholic Encyclopedia is so well maintaining.

The second volume of Dr. Paul Monroe's "Cyclopedia of Education"⁵ indicates very clearly the range and usefulness of this elaborate work. It covers the letters C to F, inclusive, and among its more important articles are "The American College," by President Charles F. Thwing; "College Curriculum," by President William T. Foster; "Froebel," by Percival R. Cole; "Education in England," by Anna Tolman Smith; and "Commercial Education," by Joseph F. Johnson.

Volume VII of "Who's Who in America,"⁶ the seventh edition (for 1912-1913), has just appeared. It contains 2664 pages and 18,794 sketches, of which nearly 3000 are new. There is also some useful analytical "front matter," including some interesting educational statistics. "Who's Who" is still the indispensable reference book.

⁴ The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. Vol. XII. Edited by Samuel M. Jackson. Funk & Wagnalls Co. 599 pp., ill. \$5.

⁵ Cyclopedia of Education. Vol. II. Edited by Paul Monroe. Macmillan. 726 pp., ill. \$5.

⁶ Who's Who in America. Vol. VII 1912-1913. Edited by Albert Nelson Marquis. Chicago: A. N. Marquis & Company. 2664 pp. \$5.

FINANCIAL NEWS FOR THE INVESTOR

THE city of Paris recently sold \$41,000,000 of municipal bonds bearing interest of 3 per cent. and the loan was eighty times oversubscribed. The city of New York has now sold \$65,000,000 of municipal bonds bearing $4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. and the bonds were only four times oversubscribed.

Whereupon the financial writers and critics dipped their pens in vitriol and wrote biting essays on the backwardness of America in all things financial. "Paris does not place the denominations of its bonds at \$1,000 or \$500 or \$100, but in denominations of 300 francs, which is equivalent to \$60 in American money." So stated one of the leading financial weeklies, accurately enough, but leaving the less truthful inference that New York might copy Paris to good effect. It is not denied that thousands of Frenchmen purchase bonds direct from their government, federal or municipal, where less than a score of Americans will follow a like course. There are many brokers from whom New York City bonds can be bought after the city has disposed of them, but even these dealers sell the bulk of their wares to institutions, and no widespread campaign is carried on to distribute them to individuals.

One William D. Brown deserves to rank as an investment pioneer. At this recent sale of New York City bonds Mr. Brown put in a bid for \$20. He was awarded his tiny allotment with precisely the same formality that went with the successful bid for \$11,500,000 by a great banking syndicate. It matters little who Mr. Brown is. He is a living answer to that hackneyed remark: "They do things better in Europe."

For the Small Investor

The truth is that far better provision is made in this country for the small investor than some of the financial writers appear to realize. We acquiesce too readily in the "do things better in Europe" idea. Under the provisions of the New York City charter registered bonds may be issued in denominations of \$10 or any multiple thereof. The man with \$10 had just as good an opportunity to buy part of the \$65,000,000 New York City bonds as

did the powerful underwriting houses with their millions of resources and endless financial ramifications here and abroad.

If Mr. Brown was the only person who bid for as small an allotment as \$20, and only a handful of persons bid for \$100 and even \$500, it was not due to lack of provision for the small man. It was because investors did not know that their modest savings were wanted. New York needs a tremendous campaign of publicity. It should not always depend upon the great international underwriting houses for money. The country has tens of thousands of investors in whose combined pockets much of its wealth is concealed. They would be delighted with a bond yielding four and a quarter per cent., which is both safe and marketable to an extraordinary degree, if they only knew how to get it.

But how is the woman with a modest competence, or even the business man living far from financial centers and influences, to know how much to bid for state or city bonds? Any bank with which they may deal can furnish ideas on the subject. As a convenience it will even forward their bid for them. A slight perusal of the financial columns of a daily paper will familiarize them with the prevailing prices for similar securities. The state or city controller will always furnish the prospective bidder with circulars containing detailed information in regard to the bonds, and how to buy them.

Big Figures Need Not Frighten

What the American investor most needs to learn is not to be afraid of big figures. Newspaper headlines told of the \$65,000,000 issue as the largest of its kind, and hardly was it out of the way before the State of New York announced the coming sale of \$25,950,000 of its bonds, likewise the largest amount ever put out at one time. But while Wall Street gossip busied itself with guesses as to how much this or that "syndicate" would bid for these securities, what was to prevent the man with \$100 from becoming an owner of bonds of the richest state in the Union?

Then came the announcement with its

even more benumbing totals, that all parties had finally agreed on the expenditure of \$261,000,000 for new subways in New York City. But an array of dollar signs such as these need not in themselves bewilder the investor if he does a little clear thinking. Adequate transportation means enhanced worth for municipal bonds.

New York City is committed to spend \$124,372,200 as its share toward building the 106 miles of new subways. And yet two private corporations will have to provide a still larger amount and the bankers who will gather together the dollars for the private corporations are to quite an extent the same firms which took the largest portion of the recent issue of city bonds. No one can predict how much the value of property in the metropolis will be enhanced by 106 miles of new subways. But the increased value will be many hundreds of millions of dollars, which means new taxing power and greater municipal wealth, both of which make the city's obligation that much safer.

The Safety of New York City Bonds

There is no question as to the marketability of New York City bonds, for they are probably dealt in by more different firms than any other bond. New York has \$860,440,784 of debt, a vast amount, but there is ten times that amount of taxable property back of this obligation. It is asserted the city is extravagant, and certainly there are flaws in its management, as there are in any organization so vast and so complex. But if one studies the personnel of the banking firms which absorb the bonds of this huge municipality it is clear that the leading financiers have no fears as to the safety of their investment. If New York City bonds "go bad," so will the reputations and perhaps the solvency of the greatest financial institutions in the country.

The city of Paris adds several clever lottery features to its bond offering. While these bear only 3 per cent. nominally, they are sold at less than their face value, a device which appeals more to the avarice of buyers than a bond selling above its face value and paying a much higher rate of interest. Then too Paris sells its bonds on the instalment, or part payment plan. New York will not sell bonds under par; lottery is out of the question, and the instalment plan has never been considered.

The Credit of Paris Compared With New York

Paris is more ingenious in raising money than New York. But if we take into account the cost of a lottery, the loss of interest to the city in the instalment payments, and the fact that Paris really pays more than 3 per cent. because the bonds are sold under par—then the disparity between the credit of the two cities is not so great after all. But the fact remains that the Paris loan was eighty times oversubscribed and the New York loan was only four times overbid.

Clearly we need more ingenuity and education in the science of investment. But progress is being made. Each year the one hundred dollar bond increases in popularity. Each year finds more reputable firms considering the advantage of taking up this class of business. It is said that \$100,000,000 of savings go annually into worthless stocks, and a great portion of our best investments have to go to Europe for lodgment. The essential investment problem is to popularize the high grade bond, and to depopularize the lure of the swindling promoter.

A movement to bring into the American Bankers Association 2,000 of the investment bankers of the country has received a check by the refusal of the Executive Council of the Association to establish a separate section for the investment men. But the movement may continue in another form, and the mere fact that dealers in investment securities are trying to coöperate means much for the buyers. Among the purposes of the proposed organization was the standardization of procedure regarding the issuance of securities, the purification of financial advertising and the elimination of stock swindlers.

The many efforts to protect and educate investors steadily gather force. It is evidenced, for example, by the issuance from such an organization as the American Academy of Political and Social Science of a booklet on timber bonds. This booklet tells briefly how to judge such securities. There are now very few investment subjects in regard to which there is no adequate literature. Ten years ago there were hardly any of these subjects concerning which it was possible to secure any reliable information from books.

TYPICAL INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

READERS of this magazine can find no more concise and interesting exposition of the current news affecting investments, and of the rules governing them, than is given in the thousands of inquiries from REVIEW OF REVIEWS subscribers and our answers to these inquiries. Each month we shall print in this department a number of them, chosen for their broad interest and universal application.

No. 365. A KENTUCKY MERCHANT

As an old subscriber I come to the Investment Bureau for some assistance. I am saving some money each year and would like some ideas on how to invest. I want good security and, if possible, something tax exempt in Kentucky. Would Chesapeake & Ohio stock and 4½ per cent. convertible bonds meet my requirements?

Not as well as they might be met. We are in doubt that Chesapeake & Ohio stock would afford the "security" for which you are looking. It is not by any means a seasoned 5 per cent. dividend payer, and is, in fact, pretty generally looked upon as being surrounded by not a few speculative conditions. The convertible bonds are deemed good middle grade securities, but they do not appear to come within the class of non-taxables in your state. We are informed that, as a matter of fact, all bonds are taxable in Kentucky except government and municipal bonds, and that even the latter are taxable when listed outside the city and county of issuance. All stocks of companies incorporated in Kentucky are, in accordance with the general rule, free of taxes throughout the state. A recent decision of the Supreme Court seems to exempt all stocks of companies incorporated elsewhere, but holding real estate and having an office within the state. The case in question concerned the stock of the United States Cast Iron Pipe & Foundry Company, but has been construed by local authorities to affect similarly such stocks as Pennsylvania Railroad, Illinois Central and Southern Railway, in the railroad list, and the stocks of Distillers Securities and of several of the tobacco companies, in the industrial list. Of these we should say that Pennsylvania would by all means come nearer to meeting the requirements of a conservative business man. The five per cent. preferred stock of the Louisville Traction Company is another example of a security with investment merits in the category of tax exempt issues. It would be desirable for you to consult with some reputable banker whose experience has familiarized him with conditions in Kentucky as an investment field.

No. 366. COUNTY PIKE BONDS

I am an interested reader of your financial department, and deeply appreciate the service you are rendering your subscribers. I would like your opinion as to the advisability of buying county pike bonds on an income basis of about 4 per cent.

Such bonds come within the class of "municipals"—securities supported by taxes and unanimously held to be the safest kind of investments, outside of Government bonds. That the pike bonds which you have under consideration sell on as low an income basis as 4 per cent. seems to be indicative, among other things, of the fact that the issuing county is well populated and prosperous, and, on that account, one enjoying prime credit. A few gilt-edged bonds of this character may well find a place in almost any individual investor's list. But few confine themselves entirely to securities of such low yield. One may get a good deal higher income nowadays with little appreciable sacrifice of safety.

No. 367. REAL ESTATE vs. MORTGAGES

I have a few thousand dollars which I feel should be earning more than it is in banks. Have thought of purchasing lots in Vancouver, British Columbia, and Pensacola, Florida, as an investment. Have you any suggestion as to this method of employing money? Would the purchase of first farm mortgages be better?

Farm mortgages unquestionably have "the right of way" over lots, as investments. We may repeat here the suggestion which we have made to scores of other readers, that real estate seldom, if ever, works out satisfactorily as an investment, when situated at a distance from the purchaser. This department has observed hundreds of cases, too, from every part of the country. The result is well expressed by the following rules:

"Buy no land which you have not looked upon with your own eyes.

"Buy no land which you do not intend for your own personal use.

"Don't buy it until you are ready to use it."

Depending largely upon the part of the country producing the mortgages, such securities would earn from 6 to 8 per cent. And when bought through dealers of experience and responsibility, they afford, as permanent investments to hold through to maturity strictly for income, a peculiarly satisfactory degree of safety.

No. 368. POSTAL SAVINGS BONDS

Can you give me an approximate value of the United States Savings Deposit Bonds bearing 2½ per cent. interest?

Judged by the ordinary standards of investment, they are probably worth not much if any more than 80. But there is no danger that the bonds will ever sell in the market at any such price. One holder wished to dispose of some of them a short time ago and found that the best bid he could get in the general market was considerably under par. A little while after this incident the government authorities announced that in the future par would be paid for the bonds to anyone who wished to sell.

No. 369. A MISSIONARY IN INDIA

I would appreciate it if you would let me know something about the 5 per cent. bonds of the Rochester, Syracuse & Eastern, selling at about 85½. Some time ago these bonds were quoted at 90. Would you advise one to sell, or to hold? Let me know whether or not any dividends are being paid on the preferred shares, and whether the road is being properly kept up. As I remember, there are several millions of common and preferred stock. I notice that 5 per cent. bonds of one of the sister roads, the Auburn & Syracuse, are selling at 101. Why is there such a difference between these two bonds?

Rochester, Syracuse & Eastern fives are not high grade public utility bonds, but there seems to be nothing that would argue conclusively in favor of their immediate sale at a big sacrifice. That they have not shown more market strength is probably due, in a general way, to the fact that the final section of the road on which they are secured was completed only two or three years ago, and that, as a part of a larger system, it has not yet been given full opportunity of demonstrating just to what extent its earning power can be developed. For the last two fiscal years, for which official statements of

earnings are available, it seems that interest charges were covered only by a very small margin. The regularly published statements do not make clear just what policy is being followed in the matter of maintenance, depreciation, and so forth, but the road's management seems to be looked upon as one that would follow recognized standards in this respect under ordinary circumstances. The fact that the line is comparatively new would, of course, mean that it would not be necessary to provide for such charges quite so liberally as would be necessary in the case of an older property. The stock capitalization of the road consists of \$2,500,000 6 per cent. non-cumulative preferred and \$6,000,000 common. No dividends at all are being paid. The difference in price between the Rochester, Syracuse & Eastern bonds and those of the Auburn & Syracuse is accounted for largely in the latter road's ability to earn more in relation to its capitalization. It has outstanding much less stock and bonds, and on the latter (last reported as \$1,468,000) it is earning the interest about one and three-quarters times.

No. 370. STOCK IN A CHAIN OF BANKS

I enclose herewith a circular regarding the sale of stock to cover the establishment of banks in a neighboring state. In your opinion is this stock a good investment for a small wage-earner?

No. We note that the proposal is to establish a chain of banks with much the same directorates and controlled through one central institution. This method of banking may be all right within limits, but where it is spread out over an extensive territory it has too frequently been found in this country to involve inefficient, if not reckless, management, and is considered by the best authorities as an evil which should be eliminated entirely, rather than allowed to gain ground. Indeed, it is a practice which the Controller of the Currency only recently set about to stamp out in cases where national banks,—the only institutions, of course, over which that official has direct jurisdiction,—are found to be indulging in it.

No. 371. PROJECTED ELECTRIC ROAD

I wish to invest some money in an electric railroad. Would it be possible for a manufacturing company, or any combination of companies making cars and other railroad supplies, to injure the electric road by refusing to sell it equipment? Or could a more powerful railroad corporation through its influence upon the manufacturing companies injure the road in any way?

Because you do not tell us anything about the character of the enterprise in which you desire to invest,—the people behind it, its location, the exact nature of the territory which it is to serve (assuming that it is now merely a projected road), and other important things of like nature, we cannot, of course, undertake to discuss the stock or bonds, even from a speculative point of view. If the company has sufficiently strong backing and if it is assured of a sufficient amount of capital to carry its project through to completion and to establish its credit on a sufficiently strong basis, we cannot conceive of any manufacturer refusing to supply it with cars and other necessary equipment with which to carry on its operations. Your questions suggest certain charges that have been made against something which has been called a "money trust," now being investigated by a Congressional committee. This alleged "trust" is supposed to be dominated by powerful railroad and industrial interests, who, it is said, do not hesitate to crush weak and struggling enterprises whenever it ap-

pears that such action would inure to the advantage of the interests. But whether such a trust really does exist will remain for the Congressional investigators to discover. Why not write to us again furnishing more detailed information about the proposition in which you have become interested. We should be glad to report whatever specific facts we are able to obtain about it.

No. 372. PUBLIC SERVICE CORPORATION BONDS

I wish to invest a few thousand dollars where the principal will be safe and the income as high as possible. Your department, I notice, frequently suggest public service corporation bonds as conservative investments. I should like to ask in what manner one may keep posted on the financial condition of public service corporations located in distant quarters and on the value of the bonds in which investment has been made, where the same are not listed on any exchange.

By choosing a banking house of the highest standing and with the most experienced and efficient organization, through which to purchase the bonds in the first instance; then, by taking the bankers fully into one's confidence and asking their confidence in return. The careful, conscientious banker nowadays is a hearty advocate of publicity. To all of his clients he is found ready and willing to supply regularly the essential information about whatever securities they buy. He does not feel that his responsibility ceases immediately he has concluded the sale of his bonds. He realizes that satisfied clients are among the best assets to his business. There are scores of high-grade public service corporation bonds based upon solidly established enterprises that are never heard of on any of the exchanges. In fact, by far the majority of such issues are sold directly over the counters of the specialists to individuals whose habit it is to invest money permanently for income. Most companies issuing these bonds make at regular periods comprehensive financial statements which find their way into the hands of the security holders through the distributing bankers, if not through the medium of the financial press. We are not quite sure just how far you might go in giving up quick convertibility, but it may not be amiss for us to say that there are a good many investors who pay more attention to this feature than seems to be necessary. They frequently not only pay attention to it, but they pay for it in many cases, by making unnecessary sacrifice in the matter of income.

No. 373. FIGURING "YIELD" ON BONDS

Accept my thanks for your reply to my inquiry about United Railroads of San Francisco 4 per cent. bonds. I notice you say that at 68 the bonds yield over 7 per cent. on the investment. According to my way of figuring, they yield less than 6 per cent. Which is correct?

Your figure would be correct, provided the bonds were, like stock, of indeterminate maturity. But the life of a bond is an important factor in determining yield. For example, the United Railroads of San Francisco 4's fall due in 1927, at which time they will presumably be paid off, and not at 68, but at 100. During the fifteen-year period between now and their maturity, there must, therefore, be an appreciation of \$320 per \$1000 bond—an average annual appreciation of about \$21.33, which would accrue as a profit to one who purchased at the present price. It is customary to regard this profit as additional income. In the present case it amounts to approximately $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. a year on the purchase price of the bond. Add this to the 4 per cent. fixed annual interest, and you have a total of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.